

# JOURNAL

OF A

RESIDENCE

IN THE

BURMHAN EMPIRE,

AND MORE PARTICULARLY AT THE

COURT OF AMARAPOORAH.

BY CAPT. HIRAM COX,

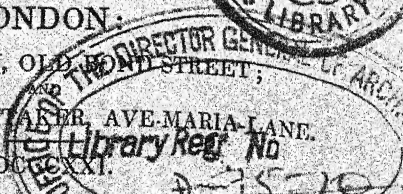
OF THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S BEN  
NATIVE INFANTRY.

LONDON:

JOHN WARREN, OLD BOND STREET;

G. AND W. B. WHITE, AVE MARIA LANE.

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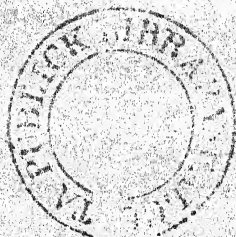


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## PREFACE.

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IN submitting the following pages to the Public, some explanation seems due respecting the time which has elapsed since they were written, and the date at which they are published ; and this will, perhaps, best be done, by stating briefly the circumstances relative to them.

On the return of Captain Symes from his mission to the Court of Ava, the Governor-General in council resolved, agreeably to the request of the Burmhan Government, to depute one of the Honourable Company's servants to Rangoon, to fill the situation of Resident at that port. Captain Hiram Cox was selected for that purpose, and also to arrange several commercial points preparatory to his assuming the functions of his office. How he fulfilled the expectations of his employers, will be evinced by the pe-

rusal of the following pages; and an impartial Public can best decide how far his conduct throughout the undertaking justified the choice.

When Captain Cox returned from Rangoon, he found that Sir John Shore, under whose auspices he went, had sailed for Europe, and been succeeded as Governor-General by the Earl of Mornington, who expressed himself perfectly satisfied with his conduct during his negotiation with the Burmhan Government, and signified his intention of again employing him in the public service, whenever an opportunity should offer, in which his talents and zeal might be instrumental in promoting the public interest.

Such an opportunity soon occurred. The tyranny of the Burmhan Government in the province of Arracan, drove a very considerable body of its unfortunate inhabitants to the dire resolution of abandoning their homes and native country, to seek a precarious existence in the woods and forests, which form the boundary of our territories on the Chittagong frontier. To give imme-

diate assistance to these unfortunate beings, was an act consistent with the spirit of the whole of his Lordship's government; and accordingly Captain Cox was commissioned to proceed to Chittagong, for the purpose of arranging the most effectual means of relieving their necessities, by giving them a permanent settlement on the waste lands of that extensive district.

In an active performance of the arduous duties of this situation, and in a climate peculiarly noxious to an European constitution, Captain Cox persevered till his own life became a sacrifice to his zeal and sense of public duty. His premature death at the age of thirty-nine years, in the midst of public employment of a nature that demanded the whole of his time and attention, prevented his making many valuable additions to his Journal from his private memorandums, (which it was his intention to have done, had his life been spared ;) or even of arranging the matter it contained for the press.

Filial respect to the memory of a revered parent, and a desire to communicate to the



world that which appears interesting to me, of a nation so little known to Europeans, have led me to undertake the task of selecting from my father's journal those parts which I thought would be most likely to afford agreeable and useful information. Nothing is added, and the omissions which have been made are only of those minuter and ordinary matters, which necessarily enter into all journals kept for the private gratification of the writer.

My youth, when I quitted England for India, and an absence of thirteen years, prevented my having an earlier opportunity of putting it into such a form as might lead to its publication. With the kind assistance of a friend I have now effected that object; and without the remotest view to pecuniary profit submit it with diffidence to the judgment of the world, in the hope that my motives may atone for the errors of my inexperience, and mitigate the severity of criticism.

HENRY C. M. COX.

*Welbeck-street, 4th May, 1821.*



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# JOURNAL,

8c.

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RANGOON RIVER.—*October 8, 1796.*

AS the journal of a voyage is usually barren of events, which can afford either interest or amusement, and is generally a repetition of remarks on the wind and weather, I shall commence my detail with the arrival of the Swallow packet in the Rangoon river, where I was met by a boat containing the king's linguist, who brought me a present of fruit from the Shabunder\* of Rangoon, and informed me, that the Nakhan and a Sercedoghee were in waiting at the entrance of the river, to compliment me on my arrival.

*October 9.* To-day, two war canoes came along-side, each rowing about ten oars, with

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\* Shabunder, in the ports to the eastward of Calcutta, is a situation similar to that of master-attendant in our harbours.

music playing, which consisted of two pipes, sounding like the bagpipe, and called in the Burmhan language, *Nhae*, a tomtom\*, and a pair of cymbals. The seat in these boats for passengers is placed on the bow, with a raised platform and canopy, the stern being elevated above the water about six feet or more; the rowers sit two on a bench, using short oars like paddles; the steering oar is also like a large paddle, fixed obliquely, and worked with a pin or arm on its side, by way of tiller. The stern is ornamented with bushy tails, something like small chowries†, hung all round, and a long pole projects over it. In these boats were a Nakhan, or reporter, and a Sereedoghee, or writer, sent by the Rangoon government to compliment me on my arrival. I received them in the cabin, and gave them chairs to sit on; they were well-dressed, handsome men, above the middle stature, with fine open countenances, and an olive-brown complexion; they had small, thin beards from the tip of their chins; their hair gathered up and tied in a knot on the crown of the head, and their teeth quite black. Their dress was a small fillet or handkerchief round the head, an open

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\* Tomtom, a species of drum, common all over the East.

† Chowries are made of horse-hair, or the tail of the Tartary cow; they are used for whisking away flies.

Jamma\* of fine white cloth, and a Lungee† of silk, plaid pattern, of the country manufacture; the texture, apparently, very good, and the colours, green, red, or blue, were vivid, and well fixed; the lobes of their ears also were perforated, with spiral gold rings in them; they had each of them their separate attendants, with red lacquered boxes containing their betel and cheroots (or segars), and an earthen goblet of water; the attendants, however, remained on deck. The crews in the boats were in general robust men, in gait, manners, and appearance, similar to their superiors, some small allowance being made for the hardihood of rusticity; they were also much darker-skinned, the natural effect of constant exposure in their laborious vocation. A Chekoy also came on board much about the same time, in a common boat: he is in the war department, and is superior to the other two. He was a corpulent middle-aged man, rather shabbily dressed; but it appears he was despatched in a hurry to our assistance, in consequence of our having grounded on entering the river, whereas the others had been waiting for me two days. The Chekoy had the same ap-

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\* Jamma is a kind of loose jacket, generally made of muslin, and tied or buttoned on one side of the breast.

† The Lungee goes round the loins, two or three times, and is then brought between the legs, with one end hanging down in front.

paratus as the others for his betel, cheroots, &c., with the addition of a silver pheeckdawn\*. After chatting nearly an hour in the cabin, during which they chewed betel, smoked cheroots, and drank water, we adjourned to the deck; and in half an hour more they desired leave to retire to their boats and put off. Their questions were trivial, and their observations mostly complimentary; but they asked in particular after Captain Symes, and the gentlemen of the late embassy.

*October 10.* The land is in general low from the river's mouth to Rangoon, and is overflowed, I understand, in most places during the spring; there are several cleared spots on either bank, where paddy is grown, but mostly on the eastern shore, and three or four straggling villages, the houses of which are built of bamboos and cadjan †, and raised on piles, in the manner of the Malays. At two of the villages chokeys ‡ are established, called the king's and queen's chokeys, where duties are collected on imports, to what amount I am yet to learn. Before a vessel is quite land-locked, Dagon Pagoda, with its gilt spire and talapoin (or um-

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\* Pheeckdawn, a vase made of brass or silver, for spitting into.

† Cadjan is the leaf of the palm-tree, and is found very useful for thatching houses with.

‡ Chokeys, a general term applied to police or revenue stations.



brella), is seen towering above the trees, and a little after, Syriam Pagoda, in shape like the former, but not so lofty, and of smaller dimensions. Syriam lies up a branch of the river that goes to the N.N.E., and is properly called Pegu River—the Rangoon branch goes to the N.W. to join the Erawuddy, and the town of Rangoon is situated about one mile and a half above the confluence of the rivers. Off the entrance of Pegu River lies a sand, which is avoided by keeping the western shore on board till you approach the southern point of Rangoon Reach ; you then steer over to the north-eastern shore on which the town stands, and immediately off which the shipping moor.

This river, so far, is one of the finest for shipping I have ever seen. It is about six hundred yards wide at Rangoon, the water in general deep from shore to shore, the bottom good, and current moderate ; how much the tide rises I have not yet learnt, but it must be very high, as ships of eight hundred or nine hundred tons can dock.

The town has a rude appearance from the river, being composed of straggling huts of cadjan and bamboo, raised on piles close to the water's edge, slips for building ships, and mud docks. Some few tiled houses are seen among the trees within the stockade, and the roof of the custom-house is raised two stories in the Chinese style ; part of the



timber stockade, which encloses what is called the fort, is seen towards the river; and near the flag-staff is a very good wooden pier, with a crane, and steps for landing goods, &c. Here also is placed the saluting battery, on which is mounted sixteen old iron guns, four or six pounders, which are run out through port-holes, in a wooden breast-work, like a ship's side. Many small pagodas, some of them with gilt spires, are seen amongst the trees on both sides of the river. The buildings along shore, on the town side, extend about one mile and a half, and on the opposite one, about a quarter of a mile.

When we approached the town I sent Mr. Burnet, my private assistant, and Mr. Rowland, my interpreter, on shore, to acquaint the government of my arrival, and to inform them that the Honourable Company's ship would salute the town with thirteen guns, if an equal number were to be returned, otherwise the ship could not salute.

The Shabunder returned for answer, that an equal number of guns should be returned for the ships' salute, and, at the same time, intimated, that he had prepared the king's godown, *viz.*, the custom-house for my reception when I landed; but as that is the place where commanders of country vessels are carried to be searched, I sent Mr. Burnet back to inform him, that I could

by no means submit to such a reception; that I should be happy to see him on board, or at the house prepared for me; or if he would erect a temporary house, as had been done when Captain Symes arrived, I would meet him and the officers of government there.

He appeared to make light of my objections; said that no disrespect was intended; that it was a mere form, and a custom which every one who frequented the port acquiesced in, &c. &c.: with this evasive answer Mr. Burnet returned. I immediately sent back Mr. Rowland to inform him positively, that I neither would, or could, deviate from my first resolution; and that, if he persisted, I must remain on board the ship till I heard from Amrapoorah. Upon which he immediately called a council, in which the contested point was debated, and at length yielded in my favour. On approaching the anchorage, the country ship, Henrietta, commanded by Captain Somerville, saluted us with thirteen guns, which we returned with an equal number. I had intended at first to have saluted with eleven guns only, but the ship having saluted us with thirteen, we saluted the fort with the same number, which were immediately returned.

In the evening I sent word to the Shabunder, that I meant to land the carriage for his majesty the next morning, under a salute of twenty-one

guns, and desired he would send proper boats to convey it on shore, and also boats for my baggage, all which he readily promised, and, as Mr. Burnet informed me, shewed great readiness to do every thing in his power to oblige me. He went with him to the house that had been prepared for me, and told him he would do any thing I might require to make it commodious and suitable to my wishes.

*October 11.* In the morning two war boats, rowing forty oars each, with two of the government servants, music, &c., came alongside to escort his majesty's coach on shore; it was embarked on a platform laid over two long boats; the war boats took them in tow and proceeded to the shore. I sent Mr. Burnet with a Naick\* and six sepoy in charge of the carriage, to see it safely landed and lodged. As soon as the boats put off a royal salute was fired by the Swallow, and when the royal equipage was landed, another royal salute was fired on shore, and all the government officers, with an immense concourse of people, escorted it to the Godown. In the evening, I sent some of my baggage on shore, and intimated to the officers of government, that I meant to land at twelve o'clock the next day.

*October 12.* At the time I had fixed, I quitted

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\* Naick, a native corporal.

the Swallow with Captain Simpson in his cutter ; the ship saluted me on quitting her, and Captain Somerville's ship followed the example on my landing ; the town battery saluted me with fifteen guns. Mr. Jhansey\* the Shabunder, and Babasheen the collector of the revenues of the province, the two superior members of government here, received me at the pier-head. From thence I proceeded through an avenue formed by the inhabitants seated on the ground, (preceded by the officers of the police to preserve order), towards the house provided for my residence. On passing the custom-house, a band of musicians, with dancers, exhibited for my entertainment ; and, at the head of the principal street, another band of Siamese dancers were stationed. I stopped for a few minutes to observe them ; some were gaudily dressed, as females, in velvet brocade with gold ornaments, according to the fashion of the country ; the dancing consisted of various attitudes, and beating time to a slow measure with their feet. On reaching my allotted dwelling, I found it a capacious lower-roomed brick house, the only one in the town, as I was informed. Immediately after I reached the house, I was visited by the remaining principal members of the government in their robes of state, who congratulated me on my safe arrival.

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\* He is a descendant of a Portuguese family.



*October 13.* To-day Mr. Jhansey and Baba Sheen sent their compliments, and requested to know if it would be agreeable to me to receive a visit from them, to which I replied in the affirmative. About ten A.M., they came with a Sercedoghee, and, after some congratulatory compliments, we talked of business; I explained to them the nature of my appointment, and the line of conduct I meant to observe, *viz.*, of writing to the chief Whoongee\*, and keeping myself recluse until I should receive his majesty's instructions and permission to assume the public functions of my office; all which they approved, and promised to despatch my letter whenever it was ready. I also informed them generally of what I had brought, with which they were much gratified, and tendered, with much apparent frankness, their services and advice on all occasions. As soon therefore as the translations of my letters were ready, I sent them to the Rangoon government to be forwarded to Amarapoora.

*October 23.* For the first time, I to-day rode into the country, and found it agreeably diversified, with gentle risings and slopes; and from the site of an old pagoda, I had a commanding view of the country for many miles round; the Martaban mountains forming a boundary to the N.E., the valleys in general being cleared for paddy-

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\* Whoongee, a counsellor of State.



grounds ; to the southward, and westward of the river (the meanderings of which are seen for many miles) is an extensive plain of paddy-grounds bounded by deep forests. The soil of the valleys is a sandy loam, covered with fine luxuriant pasture of grass highly nutritive, as is evinced by the appearance of the cattle, which are as large and in as good condition as I have ever seen in any part of India. The soil of the knolls, or little hills, appeared to be a red loam mixed with sand, on a basis of red rock, that seems to have undergone, the action of volcanic fire. It is friable, and broken on the surface into gravel, and seems to contain a large portion of iron. The roads at present are very indifferent, but might very easily be rendered good and fit for carriages. In the vicinity of the town are several orchards of fruit-trees, and many pleasant situations for building. The air is pure and elastic, and as yet I have not found the heat oppressive. The general salubrity of the air is best evinced by its effects; the inhabitants, male and female, are a hale robust race; and strangers in general preserve their health, or recover soon if they arrive sick. There were twelve or fourteen in the sick list on board the Swallow when we arrived, and now there are only two, and these have been long ill with violent dysenteries; among my own suite there is not one sick.

*November 11, 1796.* I received a visit to-day from the Shabunder, Mr. Jhansey, who informed me he should leave Rangoon for Amarapoorah to-morrow morning. In the evening I was amused with an exhibition of Burmhan dancing; the dancer was a girl about ten years of age, who kept excellent time to the music, with various inflexions of her body, and graceful movements of her arms and hands, and occasionally with her feet. To my taste this was the best dancing I had ever seen among the natives of India, being both graceful and decorous; and the music, although some of the instruments were rather harsh to an European ear, yet on the whole produced a pleasing effect.

*November 14.* I rode out to the great pagoda to see a procession of the natives. Fortunately my poyzah (or sircar) has a house close to the stairs leading from the great avenue to the pagoda. There I had carpets spread, and chairs placed for myself and Mr. Burnet, and commanded a perfect view of the men and women going and returning. The crowd of both sexes was very great from sun-rise till ten o'clock, every one carrying, or rather offering, according to their abilities or zeal. Some of them bore pageants in the form of trees, the branches loaded with clothes, betel, and other necessities for the priests: others, elegantly constructed pyramids

of various forms on the backs of paper-elephants, crocodiles, or giants. These pyramids were very neatly made of coloured paper and wax, formed into fret-work containing fire-works—others fire-works, cloth, or fruit. The officers of government, and those who could afford the expense, were preceded by the country musicians; all were dressed in their gala-suits, and in the silks manufactured in the country; which for texture and vivid colours would be esteemed even in polished circles. The manners of the whole reflected credit upon them as a nation: no jostling, or ill-humour was seen, all were gay and decorous. The dress of the women impresses strangers with an idea of their being immodest; but, in my opinion, they are quite the reverse: frank, but innocent; affectionate wives, and tender mothers. In the evening I again resumed my situation at the poyzah's house, but observed very little that varied from the morning procession, except that the crowds were greater, and every one carried a few wax-candles to offer. A few sky-rockets were the only part of the fire-works that I saw, as I did not think proper to go up to the pagoda, lest I might give or meet with offence. By the orders of government no person is allowed to go up to the pagoda with their shoes on, but I saw many Europeans and native Christians breaking through the order with impunity.

*November 17.* This day the following trial by ordeal took place to ascertain the truth of an accusation of adultery against a native. The defendant denying the charge, the principals, witnesses, and court, adjourned to a small pagoda without the walls of the town, when all the parties were solemnly sworn according to the rites of the Burmhan faith, the depositions of the witnesses taken down, and the deity invoked by the priest to judge between the parties. A certain quantity of wax was weighed in two equal portions, and formed into two candles, which were lighted at the same instant. One was held by the plaintiff, the other by the defendant; and the holder of the candle which first burnt out, was adjudged to have sworn falsely, and of course lost the cause, and would be sentenced to pay the costs of the suit, amounting to four hundred ticals, and damages three hundred ticals. In this case the defendant's candle burnt out first, when the people gave a shout, and the plaintiff's friends, having previously prepared a band of music and dancers, they exhibited before the people. This much only I have been able to authenticate; whether the woman is liable to be repudiated, or whether there are any variations in the fines, I have not as yet ascertained.

*November 18.* I learnt this morning that the boat that was sent from hence to Amarapoorah with my letters had returned, with orders from the king to









CHIEF SEREEDOGHEE

the government here to supply me with boats to proceed to the presence without delay.

*November 19.* In the evening two Sercedoghees waited on me to give me formal notice of the orders from Ava, and that they would immediately prepare the boats for my accommodation.

*November 20.* I received a visit to-day from the Sercedoghee, who requested to know what number of boats I should require for my trip to Amrapoorah. I fixed the number at six, *viz.*, one for my sleeping in, one for my dinner boat, one for Mr. Burnet, one for servants, one for my interpreter, and one for a cook boat.

*November 25.* Having been informed by the members of government, that none but flowered or pure silver would be allowed to pass current in future, I had some of the silver, called 25 per cent., assayed before me, and found that when refined down to flowered silver standard, it lost 31 per cent., and still had an alloy of near 5 per cent., which makes what is called 25 per cent. 36 per cent. In fact, 2 per cent. of this is actually lost in fusion, including labour, the remainder is a profit which the shroffs of this country, called poyzahs\*, make by assaying; the loss falls on the merchants, and is a shameful abuse, injurious to government as well as to the public at large.

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\* Shroffs are the native bankers or money-chang

These poyzahs fee the officers of government, as I am informed, to wink at the abuse. Flowered silver is so named from stars being impressed on it by the lambent flame that plays on the surface when approaching purity, and being suddenly cooled by a wet rag thrown over it.

I to-day visited a mineral spring in the neighbourhood, and, as it may be proper in the first place to notice the country in which it is situated, I ought to observe, that the province of Pegu has generally been represented as flat and swampy, particularly that part which is in the vicinity of Rangoon; and those who have attempted to describe it to me have in general fallen into an error common among the seafaring people, who frequent this port, stating that the inequalities of the soil are artificial. Nothing is, however, more distant from the truth. The country, especially on the northern bank of the river, is undulated, and, immediately to the northward of the town, a gentle ridge commences, which when viewed in profile, is like what is called by seamen, a tongue, or gunner's quoin, extending from the river two miles and a half in length, north and south; and at its northern or highest point two hundred feet at least above the level of the river at neap tides. The superior contour of this ridge is not quite regular, but nearly so; in its breadth, from east to west, it is also irregular, varying from fifty to

four hundred yards; shelving away gradually to the westward, and sending off bluff spurs, or headlands, to the eastward. The soil of this ridge is, 1st, a thin stratum of vegetable mould mixed with siliceous earth, which latter predominates. This first stratum is of various depths, from twelve feet to a few inches, and where the declivity is great, is entirely washed away. 2nd. Red ferruginous porous rock; this is found in large irregular masses, or in decomposed fragments, on all the prominent parts of the ridge, from whence the first stratum has been washed away by the rains, and in larger masses when more deeply seated, with its stratum vertical or perpendicular to the horizontal *strata* of the other classes. 3rd. Decomposed red ferruginous rock mixed with siliceous earth, with a large proportion of iron ore, red, yellow, and blue. 4th. Argillaceous earth, white clay. 5th. Blue siliceous earth, with a large proportion of iron ore, and vitriolic acid: and, 6th. immediately below it is a dark blue ponderous granular stone, emitting fire in collision with steel, containing a large proportion of iron ore and vitriolic acid. On the apex or northern edge of this ridge stands the stupendous pagoda of Dagon, and to the north of it, in a hollow formed by the rains, is a pool of water, limpid, but austere and acid to the taste. In this pool the water is also retained by a dam thrown across it by the natives, who wash



their cattle in it, supposing it strengthening. But they, as well as the Europeans, who frequently bathe in it, are unconscious of its real medical qualities; and till this day I had no opportunity myself of examining this pool; for the general belief of all whom I have questioned on the subject, both here and at Calcutta, is, that it contains merely a solution of alum; a very natural conclusion for those who have only been guided by their taste. This current opinion, added to the tale of the Pagoda Hill having been raised by art, is a strong proof of the facility of popular belief: a trait in the human character which travellers should ever guard against.

Although what I call a Quoin ends at the pagoda, yet the high land by no means terminates there, but branches out in other ridges extending far beyond the limits of my excursions, in various directions. In a fork between two of these ridges, the water during the rains forces a passage, and forms a cascade of about 14 feet perpendicular; here we have a natural section of the soil, where the various strata are laid bare, and may be examined with accuracy. The fall has also scooped a deep basin, where the water, from evaporation in the dry season, becomes highly astringent: Wherever the blue ponderous stone (which forms the sixth stratum) has been laid bare by the monsoon torrents, and is exposed to the rays of the

sun, a native copperas is formed. All the rocks on the surface near the large pool have the appearance of sand-stone, in many places skinned over with a thin crust of red dephlogisticated iron-ore; but when exposed to the action of the air, they fall into a yellowish white impalpable powder. On the surface of the mud deposited in those pools which have been dried up by solar evaporation, a yellow scum appears; and among these rocks and hollows, the presence of sulphur is strongly impressed on the external sense; but I was unable to discover its actual presence by my imperfect mode of analysis.

It may appear presumptuous in me to have attempted an analysis of the water in this pool, ignorant as I was of chemistry; but as my efforts might prove successful, and as every analysis of the kind is best made on the spot, I shall candidly state the process and results. I had no galls, sirup of violets, Prussic acid, solution of silver, vitriolic or nitric acid, stills, or evaporating apparatus; but instead of galls I had French brandy, highly tintured with the astringent resin of oak, by being kept in an oaken cask; and a still better test, in a strong infusion of green tea in water; I had the animal, mineral, and vegetable alkalies, and aqua-fortis, with which I made a solution of silver, first purifying the silver by fusion, in the usual way. I had iron, and I could easily make

lime-water. With these tests I obtained the following results:—1st. Tinctured with brandy it became a deep black, and deposited black fæculæ in considerable quantities, like fæces of ink; the discoloured liquid tasted like ink diluted with water, allowing for the vinous taste of the brandy. 2nd. Tinctured with the watery infusion of green tea, it gave the same result, but much more perfect in every respect. 3rd. The animal and vegetable alkalies formed a blue precipitate, leaving a red ferruginous scum on the surface of the remaining liquid; when filtered and evaporated in the sun, the precipitate remained of a reddish colour, but without taste or flavour. 4th. A piece of bright iron immersed, formed a red ferruginous precipitate, but without discovering the smallest particle of copper to the taste or smell. 5th. Solution of silver formed a scarcely-perceptible milky cloud, which soon turned to a reddish brown. 6th. Aqua-fortis occasioned no effervescence or precipitate, but formed a slight brownish cloud. 7th. Powdered sal-ammoniac produced no sensible change. 8th. Lime-water formed a red precipitate in large quantities. 9th. Milk curdled slowly in a slight degree with about one-sixth part its quantity of the mineral water, but the milk was not pure. 10th. A red rose immersed preserved its vivid colour. 11th. Evaporated by fire with a piece of bright silver in it, the silver shewed no

appearance of sulphur, nor were the fumes in evaporation sulphureous; the remaining liquid, after standing forty-eight hours, gave out crystals of a pure white, and an acid taste, with an earthy ferruginous precipitate. From the results of the whole of the experiments I was led to conclude, that this mineral water was a pure chalybeate, containing iron held in solution by the acid of sulphur or vitriolic acid, with a very small proportion of magnesia and muriatic salt.

*November 26.* The preparation of my boats went on so very slowly, that I saw many days would elapse before I could set off: the members of government made a great parade of despatch, but it was mere parade, they seemed to have their views in procrastination.

*December 5, 1796.* At five A. M. we left Rangoon with the flood-tide; the general course of the river was to the north-west, but with frequent and deep windings, where the reaches on the river are about 250 yards broad; winding sometimes less than 100 yards, but with depth sufficient, I was told, for ships. The banks are low, but highest on the north-eastern side, and appear well cultivated, and interspersed with straggling houses. I had, however, no opportunity of seeing whether the country is more highly cultivated or more populous inland. The same contrivance for scaring the birds from the paddy fields, which is used



by the Malays in the eastern islands, is common here. This is a high stage erected in the centre of the fields, with lines extending to elastic poles in every direction, with little branches affixed to the lines, so that the least motion at the centre agitates the whole. The spontaneous growth of the banks of the river are cane-reeds from six to ten feet high; the tops of these canes are excellent provender for cattle: there were also varieties of trees unknown to me, but none of them apparently valuable as timber, and the soil from the edge of the river is an unvaried stratum of rich sandy loam. In the evening we came to Poulayn, where the river sends off two branches; one goes to the south-south-west, and falls into the sea at China Buckeer, as I am informed; the other to the north-north-east, and on each of the points formed by these rivers, are villages.

*December 7.* To-day we entered that part of the river, called by the natives the Great River, or Erawuddie; and on the eastern shore passed a town, called Yaughoon. The Erawuddie is about 700 yards at this junction, and goes off with nearly the same breadth to the south-west, and empties itself into the sea at Bargue Point. Ber-gue or Broghee river is the great outlet of the Erawuddie.

*December 13.* In our progress to-day, saw part of the process of making indigo, the plant steep-

ing in a small canoe half-full of water, but afloat. I am told they use it in a state of solution, never consolidating it by inspissation and pressing; therefore, what I saw I fancy amounts to nearly the whole of the labour bestowed on it.

December 14. We were considerably detained to-day by the boat, containing the king's carriage, and by the merchant-boats in company with us. The boatmen, although stronger and more active when they choose to exert themselves, are not to be compared with the Bengal dandies\*, they have no idea of tracking, their principal *forte* lying in poling with bamboos, fourteen feet long. All the boats of burden have outriggers, and a platform of bamboos fore and aft clear of the body of the boat, for the crew to walk along in poling. The main banks for the most part are a mile distant from each other, with houses scattered along them. Culture does not seem to be carried on upon an extensive plan, but in spots and patches according to the exigencies of the natives. Wherever I have landed, they have appeared to me as well lodged, clothed, and fed, as the peasantry of any other part of India I have seen. Every family plant their own indigo, cotton, and paddy; and the women spin, manufacture, and dye, all the cloth necessary for their own consumption, while the men attend the labours of the field; and consi-

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\* Boatmen.

dering there is no encouragement for exporting the surplus produce, I am at a loss at present to account for the appearance of any opulence amongst them. That they have some commerce is however certain, from the number of excellent boats of burden that are seen lying at every considerable town, or passing and repassing. Hitherto I have been prevented from obtaining any information on these and many other subjects, from the inveterate propensity of my informants to lying, or indulging in the marvellous; but I hope to learn as I get on; at present, however, I am obliged to shut my ears, that I may not have to unlearn.

*December 19.* About noon, as we approached the mountains on the western shore, a beautiful view opened to us. To the west was a margin of bright sand, backed by a green bank and woody hill; to the northward high and distant mountains, covered with forest-trees to their summits; to the eastward a high bank, with large trees and huts scattered below them, ending in an abrupt point, which closes the reach, so as to give the river here the appearance of a fine lake chequered with the boats of our fleet. As we advanced the scene varied; many sandy islands divided the stream, some of them barren sand, others high and covered with lofty trees, and cultivated grounds. We advanced by the western channel, where a precipitous hill, about 150 feet high, covered with

trees and bushes, comes down abruptly to the river, and forms its western boundary. The basis of this hill is a crumbling rock of yellow coarse grit sand, the super-stratum an immense bed of rich sandy loam. The stream here is about a quarter of a mile wide, and pretty rapid. When we had passed these cliffs we came to a beautiful valley, in which is situated the town of Pohem-gee, where we made fast for the night. These hills and mountains afford abundance of teak, which is brought down by the little mountain-streams during the rains. A ship was built here, and many large boats are now on the stocks. The hills here make a bend to the westward, and there send down another branch of the river, forming a beautiful gorge or valley, variegated with gentle risings; with all the flat grounds under preparation for the cultivation of paddy.

*December 23.* This morning we reached the southern suburbs of the city of Prone. Here the hills on the eastern side of the river recede to the E.N.E., and we stopped for near an hour, for a pass to clear us of the custom-house chokey. A ship of 300 tons burthen was building at the time for the Prince of Prone, the second legitimate son of the reigning emperor of the Burmahans. We passed the city, and brought to about a quarter of a mile above it, on the eastern side of the river, near a small mountain-stream,



which comes from the eastward ; and by which teak-planks, &c., are brought down from the hills during the rains.

*December 24.* I received a visit during the day from a niece-in-law of the emperor's second wife, who is the mother of the heir-apparent, and the Prince of Prone. Her father governs Prone during the absence of the Prince. She is at present unmarried, and was attended by the wives of some of the other members of government. Her dress was a silk lungee, and a sash over the shoulder, with an open Banyan or Bajoo\* of coarse flowered muslin ; on her wrists and ancles were bangles of pure gold, and several ruby rings on her fingers ; and on her feet she wore sandals, covered with red cloth ; her hair was combed back, and gathered in a knot at the back of her head. She was introduced by the chekoy, or military officer, who is my escort from Rangoon. At first she declined coming on board my boat, and sat on the bank near it ; but when the chekoy went away, she asked permission to come on board, and then seated herself and retinue at the door of my cabin, on the poling platform next the shore. She was about the middle stature, and plump in figure ; of a light olive complexion, with a pleasing countenance, and features more raised than those of the Malays. She apologized for not

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\* Bajoo, a kind of open shift, with long sleeves.

having brought me any present, and expressed a desire to know if I wanted any thing which she could command. The attendants in general spoke for her, but she often spoke herself, and was frank and affable, and repeatedly requested I would excuse her freedom, when the latitude of female curiosity prompted her to ask particular questions. I entertained her with a few tunes on the hand-organ, some spices, rose-water, and sweetmeats. After staying on board the boat about an hour, she desired leave to retire, and when she returned to town, induced her father to send down dancers and music for my entertainment; however, as he had neglected visiting me, I declined accepting of it. She also sent a present of plantains, cocoa-nuts, and sugar-cane, which, as coming from her, I accepted. The city of Prone, or as it is called by the natives Pyeh, is situated on the south side of a pleasant valley, on the eastern bank of the Erawuddie, on an elevated point projecting a little into the river. At present it is about forty feet above the level of the river, which rises in the rains about twenty or twenty-five feet, its area, north and south, is about one mile and a half, and breadth about three-fourths of a mile. It was formerly surrounded by a wall of masonry, of which parts of two or three bastions on the river face still remain. They are in the old style of

fortification, with battlements intended for musquetry only, the ramparts not having sufficient breadth to admit of cannon ; which, if mounted, must have been fired *en barbet*. The intermediate spaces where the old wall has fallen to ruins, is defended by a stockade of teak piles, about one foot square, and twenty feet high. In this stockade are many gates and steps of wood on the river, for the accommodation of the inhabitants. Within the stockade are several Pyahs or Burmhan pagodas, some of them gilt ; the rest of the buildings are mean. Some few are of wood, but the greatest part of bamboos and cadjan. There is only one regular street which leads through the centre of the town north and south, the other quarters being divided only by crooked lanes and alleys ; a large proportion of the inhabitants I was told were Mahometans. Prone, from its situation, its old fortification, and the remains of religious buildings in its vicinity, must have been a place of some opulence, which it would soon recover if under a settled and equitable administration. It is a commanding-post on the river, central to the best parts of the Burmhan dominions ; and the hills with which it is surrounded are rich in metals, and abound with teak. Lead and iron in small quantities are at present got from them, but gold also has been and may be obtained. The iron is said to be softer and more

malleable than any imported ; and is therefore preferred by the natives, who manufacture it into many articles for their own consumption. Teak timber seems to be the chief article of trade here at present, to which may be added cotton, grain, rope, and paper manufactured into umbrellas, books, &c. They had then a ship of 300 tons on the stocks, but ship-building I should imagine can never be carried on here with advantage, from the difficulty of getting the vessels down in safety to Rangoon, as the current must be very rapid in the rains ; it serves, however, as a proof of their enterprise, and shews what they are capable of doing if encouraged. Exclusive of the enclosed town, there is a suburb at both ends : the southern one half a mile long, and the northern something less. The river here flows in a bold straight channel, from one mile to half a mile in breadth. To the westward the hills, for several miles above and below the town, form the bank of the river ; these hills, from the stunted growth of the trees and shrubs, and general arid appearance, evidently contain minerals. The valley to the N.E. of the city is very beautiful, and where cultivated yields abundant crops, from fifty to one hundred fold. Inland from Prone, about five miles, I was informed, are the ruins of the ancient city of Therai Kittra ; it was of a circular form, and its walls of masonry, traces of which may yet



be seen. Its diameter is said to be three miles, and within its area are two or three villages, and their paddy fields. I purpose visiting these ruins on my return from Amarapoorah, should a convenient opportunity present itself.

By an observation I made, the latitude of Prone is  $18^{\circ} 50'$  N., which is fifteen miles to the southward of its place in Major Rennell's chart. I also suspect it is laid down too much to the eastward; I have not, however, yet had an opportunity of ascertaining the longitude, but expect to get an observation to-morrow.

*December 25.* Left our station near Prone, and in the course of the day I was so fortunate as to observe an eclipse, the first Satellite of Jupiter, which made our longitude  $95^{\circ} 58' 15''$  east; which is a degree to the westward of what Major Rennell's chart gives.

*December 26.* At noon we were opposite to the town of Comma, situated on the west bank of the Erawuddie, famous for its timber. The numerous religious buildings in the town indicate its opulence. The fort lies three miles inland from the Erawuddie, on a rivulet that empties itself into that river, and is navigable in the rains, I was informed, for large boats, almost all the way to Arrakan. I suppose the province of Arrakan is meant, and not the capital of that name. Here also is the high road by which the merchants

who trade to Dacca bring their goods, &c., on bullocks, and in covered carts, which are well made, and much in use throughout the country. Every step I advance, I meet with proofs of a better police and more thriving people than I had formed any conception of. All along the banks wherever I have landed, I have met with security and abundance; the houses and farm-yards of the peasantry put me much in mind of the habitations of our little farmers in England. The population much exceeds what I had been taught to believe; and, on inquiring of the villagers, they mention in every place, that there are larger towns inland. Game is scarce and shy, and tigers unthought of; a proof not only of considerable population, but also of cultivation. On the whole, the circumstances of the people seemed improved since we entered the hilly districts.

*December 27.* We stopped for a little time at the town of Patro; it is populous, and the land round it well cultivated. Here for the first time I met with teak-trees on the hills near the bank; but they grow in abundance on all these hills inland. It is commonly supposed in India that the Pegu teak is produced on low grounds, and hence a general prejudice against it; this may hold good as to some small part of the duggers or mast-pieces, but all the plank, and a great proportion of the other kinds, come from these hills. In the

rains, innumerable mountain-streams facilitate the transportation, and what has been cut too late to be brought down by water the whole way, is dragged overland on truck-carriages by buffaloes. A little beyond Patoe, on the west bank, a lofty hill with a pagoda on it forms an abrupt point. In India, this would be fortified as a commanding-post on the river; but fortification does not seem to be in estimation among the Burmhans.

*January 2, 1797.* In the morning we came to the lower town of Mhegeounya. Several boats were lying at it, and at noon, when we arrived at the upper town, we found a great many large merchant-boats loading, and the place not only very populous, but also evidently one of great trade.

*January 5.* To-day I had a proof of the independence of the common labourers in this country; the crew of my boat went ashore with their little bundles, refusing to proceed further, unless the Laidaghee (the cockswain or owner of the boat) paid them the balance of their contract-hire for the trip to Amarapoorah. They had received fifteen ticals in advance at Rangoon, and now wanted the remaining ten ticals: twenty-five ticals and provisions is the hire of a boatman from Rangoon to Amarapoorah, and the passage rarely exceeds two months. The Laidaghee pleaded that he had no security for their performing the trip, whereas they were sure of obtaining

redress against him, if he refused to pay. The officers of government with me, never interfered to compel them ; but at length compromised the business by becoming security for the owner of the boat. During the passage also, on several occasions, the boats' crews have been threatened with punishment for neglect of attention ; the rattan has been brandished, and even the culprit bound, but I never saw a blow inflicted.

*January 7.* At noon we came to the upper town of Raynangoong, or, as it is pronounced by the natives, Yananghoong : I stopped here on purpose to pay a visit to the wells of Naphtha, or earth-oil. The town has but a mean appearance, and many of its pagodas (of which there are a great number) were falling to ruins ; the inhabitants, however, were well-dressed, and many of them had gold spiral ear-ornaments, and were undoubtedly rich from the great trade they carry on in the earth-oil. At this time thirty-three large boats, besides numerous small ones, were lying here ; and thirty-three large merchant-boats, at two villages dependant on this place a little higher up the river. At two P. M. I set off from my boat, accompanied by the Mewthaghee or Zemindar of the town and several of the merchants, to view the wells. Our road lay to the east-north-east through dry beds of loose sand in the water-courses, and over rugged arid downs and hillocks, on which were scat-



tered plants of euphorbium, the cassia tree, which yields the cutch or terra japonica, used throughout India, to add to the astringency of the betel when formed into pawn: it also yields a very durable timber for lining the oil-wells, and, lastly, the hardy biar, or wild plum of India. The sky was cloudless, so that the sun shone upon us with undiminished force, and, as I had been unwell for some days, I walked rather slowly; but at the expiration of an hour we reached the wells. I compute the distance therefore to be three miles from the river. The wells we saw are scattered irregularly about the downs at no great distance from each other; some, perhaps, not more than thirty or forty yards. At this particular place we were informed, that there are 180 wells; and four or five miles to the north-east there are 340 more.

In making a well, the hill is cut down, so as to form a square table of 14 or 20 feet for the crown of the well, and from this table a road is formed by scraping away an inclined plane for the drawers to descend, in raising the excavated earth from the well, and subsequently the oil. The shaft is sunk of a square form, and lined as the miner proceeds with squares of cassia wood staves; these staves are about six feet long, six inches broad, and two thick, and are rudely jointed and pinned at right angles to each other, forming a square frame about four and a half feet in the clear for the uppermost

ones, but more contracted below. When a miner has pierced six or more feet of the shaft, a series of these square frames are piled on each other, and regularly added to at top; the whole gradually sinking as he deepens the shaft, and securing him against the falling in of the sides. The soil or strata to be pierced is, first, a light sandy loam intermixed with fragments of quartz, silex, &c. Secondly, a friable sand-stone easily wrought, with thin horizontal strata of a concrete of martial ore, talc\*, and indurated argil, at from ten or fifteen feet from the surface, and also from each other, as there are several of these veins in the great body of free-stone. Thirdly, at twenty cubits, more or less, from the surface, and immediately below the free-stone, a pale blue argillaceous earth (schista) appears, impregnated with the petroleum, and smelling strongly of it. This, they say, is very difficult to work, and grows harder as they get deeper, ending in schist and slate, such as is found covering veins of coal in Europe. Below this schist, at the depth of 130 cubits, is coal. I procured some (intermixed with sulphur and pyrites), which had been taken from a well deepened a few days before my arrival; but

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\* The talc has this singularity; it is denticulated, its lamina being perpendicular to the horizontal lamina of the argil on which it is seated.

deemed amongst them a rarity, as they are seldom obliged to proceed to such a depth. They were piercing a new well when I was there; had got to the depth of eighty cubits, and expected oil at ten or twenty cubits more.

The machinery used in drawing up the rubbish, and afterwards the oil from the well, is an axle crossing the centre of the well resting on two rude forked staunchions, with a revolving barrel on its centre, like the nave of a wheel, in which is a score for receiving the draw-rope; the bucket is of wicker work covered with dammer; and the labour of the drawers, consisting in general of three men, is facilitated by the descent of the inclined plane, as water is drawn from deep wells in Hindostán. To receive the oil, one man is stationed at the brink of the well, who empties the bucket into a channel made on the surface of the earth leading to a sunken jar, from whence it is laded into smaller ones, and immediately carried down to the river, either by coolies or on hackeries\*. When a well grows dry, they deepen it. They say, none are abandoned for barrenness. Even the death of a miner from mephitic air does not deter others from persisting in deepening them when dry. Two days before my arrival, a man was suffocated in one of the wells; yet they afterwards

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\* Hackeries, the term for the common carts in India.

renewed their attempts without further accident. I recommended trying the air with a candle, &c., with seemingly little effect.

The oil is drawn pure from the wells in the liquid state, as used without variation; but in the cold season it congeals in the open air, and always loses something of its fluidity; the temperature of the wells preserving it in a liquid state fit to be drawn. A man, who was lowered into a well 110 cubits, in my presence, and immediately drawn up, perspired copiously at every pore: unfortunately I had no other means of trying the temperature. The oil is of a dingy green, and odorous: it is used for lamps, and, boiled with a little dammer (a resin of the country) for paying the timbers of houses, and the bottoms of boats &c., which it preserves from decay and vermin. Its medicinal properties known to the natives, cause it to be employed as a lotion in cutaneous eruptions, and as an embrocation in bruises and rheumatic affections. The miners positively assured me, that no water ever percolates through the earth into the wells, as has been supposed. The rains in this part of the country are seldom heavy, and during the season a roof of thatch is thrown over the wells. The water that falls soon runs off to the river, and what penetrates into the earth is effectually prevented from descending to any great depth, by the increasing hardness of the



oleaginous argil of schist. This will readily be admitted, when it is known, that the coal-mines at Whitby are worked below the harbour, and the roof of the galleries not more than fifty feet from the bed of the sea. The deficiency of rain in this tract may be owing to the high range of mountains to the eastward, which run parallel to the river, and arrest the clouds in their passage; as is the case on the eastern side of the peninsula of India. Solicitous to obtain accurate information on a subject so interesting as this natural source of wealth, I had all the principal proprietors assembled on board my boat, and collected from them the following particulars: the foregoing I learnt at the wells, from the miners and others. I endeavoured to guard against exaggeration, as well as to obviate the caution and reserve, which mercantile men in all countries think it necessary to observe when minutely questioned on subjects affecting their interests; and I have reason to hope my information is not very far distant from the truth.

The property of these wells is in the owners of the soil, natives of the country, and descends to the heir-general as a kind of entailed hereditament, with which it is said government never interferes, and which no distress will induce them to alienate. One family perhaps possesses four or five wells. I heard of none who had more, the generality of

them have less, they are sunk by, and wrought for, the proprietors. The cost of sinking a new well is 2,000 ticals, flowered silver of the country, or 2,500 sicca rupees, and the annual average net profit 1,000 ticals, or 1,250 sicca rupees. The contract price with the miners for sinking a well is as follows: for the first forty cubits they have forty ticals, for the next forty cubits 300 ticals, and beyond these eighty cubits to the oil, they have from thirty to fifty ticals per cubit, according to the depth (the Birmah cubit is nineteen inches English,) taking the mean rate at forty ticals per cubit, and 100 cubits as the general depth at which they come to oil; the remaining twenty cubits will cost 800 ticals, or the whole of the miners' wages for sinking the shaft 1,140 ticals. A well of 100 cubits will require 950 cassia staves, which at five ticals per 100, will cost forty-seven ticals and a half. Portage and workmanship, in fitting them, may amount to 100 ticals more. The levelling the hill for the crown of the well, and making the draw-road, &c., according to the common rate of labour in the country, will cost about 200 ticals, ropes, &c., and provisions for the workmen, which are supplied by the proprietor. When making a new well, expenses of propitiatory sacrifices, and perhaps a seigniorage fine to government for permission to sink it, consume the remaining  $512\frac{1}{2}$  ticals. In deepening an old well, they

make the best bargain in their power with the miners, who rate their demand per cubit according to its depth, or danger from the heat or mephitic air.

The amount, produce, and wages of the labourers who draw the oil, as stated to me, I suspect was exaggerated, or erroneous from misinterpretation on both sides. The average produce of each well per diem, they said was 500 viss, or 1,825 lbs. avoirdupois, and that the labourers earned upwards of eight ticals each per month; but I apprehend this was not meant, as the average produce or wages for every day or month throughout the year, as must appear from a further examination of the subject. Where facts are dubious, we must endeavour to obtain truth from internal evidence. Each well is worked by four men, and their wages is regulated by the average produce of six days' labour, of which they have one-sixth, or its value, at the rate of one and a quarter ticals per hundred viss, the price of the oil at the wells. The proprietor has an option of paying their sixth in oil; but I understand he pays the value in money, and if so, I think this is as fair a way of regulating the wages of labour as is any where practised; for, in proportion as the labourer works he benefits, and gains only as he benefits his employer. He can only do injury by overworking himself, which is not likely to happen to an Indian.

No provisions are allowed to the oil drawers, but the proprietors supply the ropes, &c., and lastly, the king's duty is a tenth of the produce. Now, supposing a well to yield 500 viss per diem throughout the year, deducting one-sixth for the labourers, and one-tenth for the king, there will remain for the proprietor, rejecting fractions, 136,876 viss, which at  $1\frac{1}{4}$  tical, the value at the wells is equal to 1,710 ticals per annum. From this sum there is to be deducted only a trifle for drawing, ropes, &c., for I could not learn that there was any further duties or expense to be charged on the produce; but the merchants say they gain only a neat 1,000 ticals per annum for each well; and, as we advance we shall have reason to think they have given the maximum rather than the minimum of their profits; hence we may infer, that the gross amount of produce per annum is not 182,500 viss. Further, the four labourers' share, or one-sixth, deducting the king's tithe, will be 2,250 viss per month of thirty days, or in money at the above price, twenty-eight ticals, fifty avas, or seven ticals, twelve avas each man per month; but the wages of a common labourer in this part of the country, as the same persons informed me, is only five ticals per month when hired from day to day: they also admitted that the labour of the oil-drawers was not harder than that of common labourers, and the employment no



way obnoxious to health. On being more indirectly questioned, (for on this part of the subject, perhaps owing to the minuteness of my inquiries, they were most reserved,) they allowed that their gain was not much greater than the common labourers of the country, nor is it reasonable it should; for, as there is no mystery in drawing of oil; no particular hardships endured, or risk of health; no compulsion or prevention pretended; and, as it is the interest of the proprietors to get their work done at the cheapest rate, of course the numbers that would flock to so regular and profitable an employment would soon lower the rate of hire, nearly at least to the common wages of the country. Besides, I observed no appearance of affluence amongst the labourers; they were meanly lodged and clad, and fed coarsely; not on rice which in the upper province is an article of luxury, but on dry grains, and indigenous roots of the nature of cassada, collected in their wastes by their women and children. Further, it is not reasonable to suppose that these labourers worked constantly: Nature always requires a respite, and will be obeyed, however much the desire of gain may stimulate; and, this cause must more particularly operate in warm climates, to produce what we often improperly call indolence. Even the rigid Cato emphatically says, that "the man who has not time to be idle is a slave." A due

consideration of this physical and moral necessity ought, perhaps, to vindicate religious legislators from the reproaches too liberally bestowed on them, for sanctioning relaxation. Be that as it may, I think it is sufficiently apparent that the article of wages is also exaggerated, and that 500 viss must only be considered as the amount produce of working-days, and not an average for every day in the year. The labour of the miners, as I have observed above, is altogether distinct from the oil-drawers, and their pay proportioned to their hardships, and the risks they endure. Assuming therefore as data, the acknowledged profit of 1,000 ticals per annum for each well, which we can hardly suppose exaggerated, as it would expose the proprietors to an additional tax, and the common wages of precarious employment in the country, that is one month with another, including holidays, the year round, four and a quarter ticals per month as the pay of the oil-drawers, which includes the two extremes of the question, it will make the average produce of each well per diem, 300 viss, or 109,500 viss per annum, equal to 395,675 lbs. avoirdupois, or 173 tons 955 lbs.; or in liquid measure 793 hogsheads of sixty-three gallons each; and, as there are 520 wells registered by government, the gross amount produce of the whole per annum, will be 56,940 viss, or 92,781 tons, 1,560 lbs., or 412,360 hogsheads;

worth at the wells, at one and a quarter ticals per hundred viss, 711,750 ticals, or 889,687½ sicca rupees.

From the wells the oil is carried in small jars, by coolies or on carts, to the river; where it is delivered to the merchant exporter, at two ticals per hundred viss; the value being enhanced three-eighths by the expense and risk of portage; therefore the gross value or profit to the country of the whole, deducting five per cent for wastage, may be stated at 1,081,860 ticals, or 1,362,325 sicca rupees per annum, yielding a direct revenue to the king of 136,232 sicca rupees per annum, and perhaps thrice as much more before it reaches the consumer; besides the benefit the whole country must derive from the productive industry called into action, by the constant employment of so large a capital on so gruff an article. There were between seventy and eighty boats, average burthen sixty tons each, loading oil at the several wharfs, and others constantly coming and going while I was there. A number of boats and men also find constant employment in providing the pots, &c., for the oil; and the extent of this single branch of internal commerce, (for almost the whole is consumed in the country,) will serve to give some insight into the internal commerce and resources of the country. At the wells the price of the oil is seven anas seven pice, per 112lbs.

avoidupois ; at the port of Ranghong it is sold at the rate of three sicca rupees, three anas, and six pice, per 112lbs., or per hogshead of sixty-three gallons, (weighing 504lbs.) fourteen rupees, seven anas, nine pice, exclusive of the cask ; or per Bengal bazar maund, two rupees, five anas, eight pice ; whereas the mustard-seed and other vegetable oils sell, at Ranghong, at eleven rupees per bazar maund.

To conclude, this oil is a genuine petroleum, possessing all the properties of coal-tar, being in fact the self-same thing ; the only difference is, that Nature elaborates in the bowels of the earth, that for the Burmhans, for which European nations are obliged to the ingenuity of Lord Dundonald.

*January 14, 1797.* Passed the modern city of Gneayan, its N.W. face towards the river extends about one mile and a half. At this station the former deputation was met by two woondocks from Ava, attended by a gilt and several other war-boats, and conducted to a house prepared on shore, and entertained with music, dancing, and sweetmeats, according to the fashion of the country. As my appointment took place at his majesty's request, I of course expected the same attention, but in this I was completely disappointed ; and, from the neglect with which I have been treated during the whole of my journey, have just reason to apprehend that the enemies of Great Britain



have been busy at court to inflame the pride of this haughty nation, and to induce them to treat me as the agent of a subordinate or supplicant state, in the hope of preventing an intercourse which they imagine may be fatal to their interests. Aware, however, of the combination that has been formed against me, and knowing also most of the despicable conspirators, I firmly trust, if my health does not fail me, I shall prove more than a match for them; at least I am prepared for the worst, which, if it does not secure victory, may alleviate defeat.

*January 19.* We came to-day to the conflux of the river Kheoundoun, with the Erawuddie. At the conflux the former appears the largest river, but the point of land being only an island, some part of the waters of the Erawuddie are discharged by that channel also. The Kheoundoun is however, I am informed, a considerable river, and flows from Cossay through a very fertile country. The country on both banks is populous and well cultivated, and a great deal of cotton, I understand, is imported from hence up the Erawuddie to China. From the conflux of the two rivers, the Erawuddie has the appearance of a beautiful canal, the island to the westward, as well as the eastern bank being well inhabited. One of their chief rahans or priests having lately died, a great many well-dressed people of both

sexes were passing and repassing along the banks, to pay their devoirs at his obsequies.

*January 20.* The banks on both sides were about thirty feet above the present level of the river, and from them spreads an extensive cultivated plain, level to a range of mountains seven or eight miles inland on the east side, and to the westward and northward as far as the visible horizon. The soil at the surface is in general a sandy loam, and in some places clayey. Numberless villages and hamlets with farm-yards surrounded with stacks of paddy, buffaloes, horses, and black cattle, recalled to our minds scenes of European husbandry, and evince the industry and plenty of the country. We stopped to breakfast at the town of Cheynacoun, for several leagues round which salt-petre is extracted from the soil in the usual manner.

*January 24.* We came opposite the centre of the city of old Ava. Several pagodas still remain, but apparently few houses or inhabitants. Since the seat of government has been removed, it is said to have been deserted; still the scattered religious buildings that remain, extend about two miles along the banks of the river, which are of a moderate height and rocky. On the opposite or northern shore stands the ancient city of Chegain, whose scattered houses extend for three or four miles along the bank; it is very populous, and

seems to have a large share of trade. Here are the remains of a fort of brick masonry, the wall of which appears to be sixteen feet high, and about seven feet thick at the base, sloping up to the parapet or battlements, which are in the ancient style, but now are falling to ruins. It seems to have been quadrangular, with the river face three-fourths of a mile in length, with square bastions at the angles and at the gates; but it is despicable both as to strength and situation, the adjacent hills commanding it. At its N.E. extremity a range of rugged barren hills extend down to the river, forming a bold point, and from thence trend away to the N.E. six or seven miles. On the summits of these hills near the city, are a great number of pagodas and religious buildings of various forms and style of architecture, some finished with domes, some pyramidal, some cones, with a profusion of gilding expended on them; they had been recently white-washed, and all of them seemed in good repair: those on the hills have traverse flights of steps, bounded by low parapet walls leading to them, which must have cost much labour and expense. Near the river are several new ones erecting, the devotion of his present majesty having occasioned a rage for building temples and monasteries.

In the course of the forenoon we reached the city of Amarapoorah, which, including the sub-

urbs, extends four miles along the south-eastern bank of the river, and teems with religious buildings of various shapes. The palace, as seen from the river, appears a confused assemblage of buildings, glittering with a blaze of gilding. One part of it has a square building finished with battlements, and a flat roof with Tuscan Pilasters at the angles, something in the theatrical style, and evidently the essay of some smatterer in European architecture: it is painted white with gilt mouldings, but is so surrounded with trees, and the mean habitations of the natives, that it is but imperfectly seen from the river. It is situated about three-fourths of a mile N.E. by N. from the extremity of the western suburbs. The fort, I am informed, is about one mile further to the N.E. by N. The houses of the citizens in general have but a mean appearance viewed from the river; they are raised on piles with pitched roofs, many of them tiled and built of wood; but many also are covered with shingles or thatch, and built with mats and bamboos. It seems, however, to be very populous, and has a multitude of small craft lying along the strand, and plying to and fro on the river. To the eastward and northward are a high range of rugged barren mountains, distant four or five miles, which we saw rather imperfectly from a thick haze which prevailed; to the westward were the rugged chain of hills



which extend along the western bank of the river from Chegain. The main breadth of the river opposite the city of Amarapoorah is about two miles; the intermediate space, however, at this season is mostly filled with high sandy islands divided from each other by various channels: at present they are under cultivation, but in the rains are all overflowed, and are annually changing their form and situation.

My guides conducted me to the north-western end of one of them, nearly opposite the centre of the city, where they told me I must remain for further orders from the viceroy; the christian interpreter who attended me upon the part of Government, and who had been despatched two days a-head of us to announce my approach, having returned with an order for my escort to stop at Chegain, or wherever else he might meet me. The king with all his court are at Mheghoon, where he has erected a magnificent pagoda, and will remain until the next full moon, which falls on the 11th of next month, to conclude the ceremonies of consecration; and is so devoutly intent on these pious offices, that it is impossible for him to yield a thought to sublunary matters. From this man I learnt that the letters I sent to the whoongees and viceroy from Rangoon in October last, have not yet been opened, as they wait for the English translator Mr. Moncourtuse, whom

we have unfortunately left in the rear with the merchant-boats; for which the chekoy and mew-jerry have received a severe reprimand, with strict injunctions to bring him up without delay: they accordingly have despatched a small boat for him. The excuse for my detention at this inhospitable spot, is, that it is necessary first for the viceroy to present a petition to his majesty, to announce my arrival, and request permission for my landing; and that it is uncertain when a favourable opportunity may occur, under the present circumstances of his devout abstraction, to present this petition. I have further learnt, however, that no house has as yet been prepared for me: the shabunder Jhansey gave this as a private reason to Pedro, the interpreter. The truth is, that this is altogether an intended slight, meant to impress the grosser multitude with ideas of the superiority of their own government over all others; and makes part of a premeditated plan of insult, which will require all my address and patience to baffle or overcome: however arduous the task, I trust I shall yet awaken them from their dream, and am fully prepared for the contest. I sent back the interpreter immediately to acquaint the viceroy of my situation, and my wish to send the Governor-General's letters to him; and also to inform him, that he would find a Burmhan translation enclosed in the letter I forwarded from Rangoon. I wanted

to send my own interpreter with him, but this was denied me by my escort. I took no pains to disguise my sense of the neglect I had experienced from him.

*January 25.* No answer is returned as yet from the viceroy, or the smallest public notice taken of us from any quarter; and the remoteness of our situation places us out of the reach of the gaze of the multitude, except the market people passing and repassing in their canoes; the women here row and manage the boats as well as the men. I had some thoughts of despatching Mr. Burnett, with my interpreter, to court, with the Governor-General's letters to the viceroy and whoongees, but defer doing it till I hear from the viceroy.

*January 26.* Late last night a Burmhan, who came with me from Calcutta, returned from Mheghoon; he was one of those Burmhans sent about three years since to inquire into the religion and manners of the natives of Ceylon. The head of the deputation died on their voyage to Calcutta. He informed me, that happening to be known to one of the sherydoghees at court, he introduced him to the newly promoted rayhoon of Rangoon, who appears to be in great favour with his majesty at present: he desired him to follow him to court, where he was going; when there, the rayhoon told the chief whoonghee, that this Burm-

han had just arrived with the English Deputy; the whoonghee immediately conveyed this intelligence to his majesty, who said he had already heard of my arrival from the viceroy, and desired that the man might be brought to him. When near to him, he entered into very familiar discourse, inquired very particularly as to my person, age, manners, and rank. He inquired whether the commerce of Bengal was great: the man replied, the masts of the ships were like forests of trees on the river. He then asked, if he had seen the coach intended for him: to which he replied in the affirmative. He then desired to know, if it had been rode in by any one: the man said, it never had, as it had been built expressly for him. At his majesty's desire he then described the coach, and made a sketch of it, which he gave the king, who said it was not so handsome as the one he already had: the man in his simplicity contradicted him; at which the king laughed heartily, and said, "You are partial to the English, you have not seen my coach—let him be shewn my coach!" One of the officers of the court immediately conducted him to where his majesty's coach was kept. On his return the king said, "Well, now you have seen my coach, what is your opinion?" He replied, he still thought the new coach much handsomer; at which the king laughed heartily. The courtiers behind pulled



him by his clothes, and whispered, he must not talk in that manner to the king. The poor man, in the simplicity of his heart, confessed, that he trembled from head to foot, not knowing how to reply; and that when the king spoke to him, the whoonghee behind checking him, he remained mute with his mouth open; but the king encouraging him by his affability, he proceeded, saying, "Your majesty is great and powerful, and what you say must be right; but it is proper that I should speak the truth, and I still think, that when you see the new coach, you will say it is the handsomest." The king laughed, and said he was right: besides, said he, "the new coach is covered with lamps." "What," said his majesty, "has it lamps? have candles been as yet put in them?" The man said, "No;" at which the king seemed much pleased. The king then said, "You have been at Ceylon; what is the age of the king?" He replied, "Fifty years." "Ah, that is near my age." "He is very black," said the Burmhan: at which the king laughed. The man then told his majesty, that the English had conquered Ceylon from the Dutch, and that no flag was to be seen flying on the shores of India, but the English; at which the king expressed great satisfaction, saying, "My people can now have free intercourse with Ceylon." He then desired him to retire, and return again with his books and drawings. The

honour thus conferred on him, he says, made him the envy of the whole court. The viceroy of Pegu took him to his own house, and questioned him respecting me, and the whoongees ordered him to come to them next day. They asked him why he went to court so shabbily dressed, he said, he was a poor man, and had no better clothes: They told him he should have better clothes given him next time. The chekoy and mewjerry of Rangoon happened to be in my tent when he began his relation: they both seemed to feel the pangs of envy, but promised him a silk dress for bringing such good news. When the mewjerry went out of my tent, my interpreter heard him say to the chekoy, I have served his majesty nine years, and have never yet seen his face, and here this poor cooly has been honoured with a familiar conversation.

I have been thus particular in detailing this conversation, as I had no reason to doubt of its authenticity, and as it will tend more to the elucidation of the character of the sovereign and his people, than volumes of well-dressed declamation. This passed on the 25th, and while the man was with the viceroy, the king sent orders that I should be immediately forwarded to Mheghoon, and lodged near the viceroy's palace; I am, therefore, indebted to the viceroy for my detention at this place. At night Mr. Moncourtuse, the interpreter, arrived. I propose sending my assistant

with him to Mheghoon in the morning, with the Governor-General's letters to the viceroy and whoongees.

*January 27.* In the morning I prepared a letter of instructions for Mr. Burnett; but when I requested a boat to convey him, and Mr. Moncourtuse, from the chekoy, he first endeavoured to shuffle off the business, and at length when pressed to determine peremptorily, refused to let Mr. Burnett go. Under these circumstances of restraint, confined to a barren sand-bank, denied all communication with the court, or even with the city, to procure provisions, it became unavoidably necessary to state my grievances, and demand redress: to have hesitated longer, would have been a tacit confession of timidity and imbecility; and so far from forwarding the interests of my mission, could only tend to provoke further insult. I therefore determined to write a spirited but respectful letter to the viceroy, to state my grievances; demand redress, or permission to return to Bengal; and to intrust it to the care of Mr. Moncourtuse, who promised to go with it privately to Mheghoon. In trusting this man, it may be thought I risked too much, but I had no choice of measures short of submission; besides, I had a double tie of interest and personal safety on him: I had been liberal to him, and endeavoured to attach him by promise of further reward,

and his health, perhaps his life, was in my hands, as he was much afflicted by the gravel, and could obtain no relief but from me. But it is unnecessary to detail my reasons at full for this determination at present, as I hope I shall not be reduced to the necessity of a vindication; or if I am, hereafter will be time enough; what is locked up in my own breast, is safer there than any where else at present.

In the evening the chekoy came to my tent, with a view to soften me. The poor old man is really much distressed, afraid of giving offence either way. Considering him merely as the instrument of despotism, I pitied him, and endeavoured to abate his fears, by assuring him I was not angry with him; that I considered him as merely acting according to his orders, as I acted according to mine. He informed me that the king had lately given the exclusive privilege, or monopoly, of the trade of Rangoon to a native Mahomedan, who had left court five or six days before my arrival; and that his majesty was somewhat embarrassed by my coming on that account. I had heard of the intrigues of this Mahomedan before I left Rangoon; this was one violation of the promised freedom of trade; the levying the duties at the chokeys on the river as before, was another; but it is a farce to talk of



treaties with this people, in the present state of their information, for their ignorance of their real interests is only to be equalled by their pride and presumption; and, unless I can open their eyes to their own interests in the first instance, and impress them with a respectful awe of the English power in the second, my remaining here will only expose the British character to degradation, and subject my employers to unnecessary expense.

*January 28.* In the morning Pedro, the christian interpreter, returned from Mheghoon; and shortly after the chekoy and mewjerry came to my tent with a menial servant of the mayhoon's, who brought an order written on a Cadjan leaf, for my proceeding to Mheghoon. This they wanted to read to me, but I told them it was unnecessary, as I supposed it was addressed to them, and their repeating the contents was quite sufficient; that I had already written to the viceroy to complain of the treatment I had met with from them, and should not leave my present station until I had received satisfaction. They employed all their rhetoric to move or intimidate me, saying, it was his majesty's order, and that their heads would be answerable for any demur in obeying it, but I remained inflexible: I, however, assured the old chekoy that I had no quarrel with him, that I

supposed he had only acted in conformity to his orders, which however offensive to me, did not implicate him.

About noon, Mr. Moncourtuse returned from Mheghoon in a war-boat, and with him a nakan and mewjerry, who brought orders to the chekoy, &c., to resign all further interference with me, and delivered the following message from the mayhoon: That he had received my letter, and was exceedingly sorry to find I had had so great cause to complain; laid all the blame on the chekoy, &c., whom he assured me he would punish on my arrival at Mheghoon in any manner I pleased; that he had sent the nakan and mewjerry of Mheghoon on the spur of the moment to relieve them; and that he would meet me himself half way, when I should proceed to Mheghoon, and begged of me in the meantime to excuse what had passed. He also desired me to consider myself at liberty to go myself, or send my servants wherever I pleased; and, that his war-boat was at my service to convey me to the city, or any where else. All this was very civil, but still short of what I had demanded, or had a right to expect; however, as I was unwilling to push matters too far, and hoped this check might tend to make them more cautious in future, and determining to keep the viceroy to his promise of meeting me, I resolved to proceed half-way the

next day after breakfast. All parties who had often before behaved impertinently, now were much humbled, and sought to conciliate me. As far as propriety would admit, I listened to their apologies, and gave them distinctly to understand I would intercede for them in proper time. So far Mr. Moncourtuse has acted to my satisfaction, and with management and caution I hope may be made useful.

*January 29.* We set off about nine A. M. for Mheghoon, and a little after noon stopped at a village on the west bank of the palace of Amara-poorah, bearing S.E. by S., distant four or five miles. At three P. M. we proceeded again along the west bank, and at five o'clock stopped at a deserted village. Mheghoon was said to be about one mile and a half distant from this, but hid from the view behind a projecting point of the western shore. In the evening, the nakan and mewjerry of Mheghoon desired leave to go to Mheghoon to inform the viceroy that I had advanced thus far, and recommended my proceeding in the morning. I desired them to present my compliments to the mayhoon, and inform him I should remain where I was until I had the pleasure of seeing him, according to his promise; on which they informed me that the ensuing was a court-day, when his presence could not be dispensed with at court, so that it was probable it would not be in his power

to meet me. I desired them to say I should wait his leisure at my present station. The drift of all this I easily saw, was a design if possible to evade meeting me.

*January 30.* In the morning the mewjerry and Pedro returned from Mheghoon with a cadjan leaf, containing what they called an order for my proceeding. I desired my assistant Mr. Burnett, to receive them, and hear what they had to say. They repeated that they had brought an order from the viceroy for my proceeding to Mheghoon. I desired they might be informed that I received no orders, but that if they had a letter or message from the viceroy to me, I should be happy to receive it. They had no letter, but said that the subject of the cadjan writing which they now softened into a memorandum, was an apology for not being able to wait on me, and a request that I would proceed to Mheghoon, where we might daily see and converse with each other. I desired them to return with my respectful compliments to the viceroy, and say I would do myself the honour of waiting his leisure where I was.

*January 31.* Early in the morning, Pedro the interpreter came from Mheghoon, and delivered the following message: "The viceroy desired his compliments to me, and said he was exceedingly sorry that an engagement to go up the river



to pray at some particular pagoda with the Enga Tekaing or heir-apparent, would deprive him of the pleasure of being with me this day, but that he would certainly do himself the pleasure of seeing me to-morrow." The shabunder Jhansey also sent his compliments, with a present of some fruit and butter. I desired Pedro to return with my compliments to the viceroy, and say I should be happy to see him, also to thank Mr. Shansey for his present. It may be proper to remark here, that yesterday the mewjerry on being questioned by my own interpreter, denied that the viceroy had ever promised to meet me half-way : so ready are this people to lie or deny, as it may answer their purpose.

*February 1.* About half past nine A. M. two war-boats came down from Mheghoon with the newly-appointed rayhoon of Rangoon, accompanied by a native Hindoo, who had formerly been shabunder of Rangoon. The rayhoon informed me that the mayhoon had prepared to come down to me, but at the instant he was setting off, his majesty had sent for him. He had therefore deputed the rayhoon on his behalf ; and hoped I would excuse him, and proceed to Mheghoon, and that he would undoubtedly receive me on my arrival there. I plainly saw this was only another evasion of his promise ; but weighing in my own mind that it would be better to contest

these points on the spot, than through the medium of messengers who could only pass up and down once in a day, and wishing at the same time to pay a compliment to the new rayhoon, and give them a proof of my inclination to comply with their wishes as far as was consistent with propriety, I took the rayhoon into my private apartment, and told him that to oblige him, I would waive my intention of waiting till the viceroy came to meet me, and would proceed with him to Mheghoon, but that he might rest assured I would not quit my boat until the viceroy was there to receive me. I had prepared breakfast for the mayhoon, which now served to regale his second, and after breakfast we proceeded north about three miles to a sand-bank in the middle of the river, where huts were erected for my residence. The place dignified with the name of the city of Mheghoon is an assemblage of bamboo huts, with a few wooden houses, straggling along the western bank of the river, for about two miles, under a range of high barren hills. At present they appear to be only temporary habitations for the courtiers, and their followers. About the centre of what is called the city, is a wooden palace of his majesty's, externally of a mean appearance; and along the bank near it were ranged about ten large accommodation-boats for the royal family. They have houses erected on

them with gilt mouldings and ornaments, also two large ones with high pagodas on them for his majesty's and the queen's particular use ; but I defer giving a more minute description of them until some future opportunity offers of closer inspection. A little beyond his majesty's palace is the site of the intended pagoda ; at present they are advanced but little above the foundation ; and, as the dimensions are very great, it will require some years to finish it. His majesty holds his court at present in a large one-poled tent on a sand-bank in the river opposite, but nearly three-fourths of a mile east of the pagoda, where he remains while dispensing charity to the priesthood. Besides his tent, he has a temporary bamboo palace, and the bank is covered with the huts of his particular attendants. Just as we came abreast of his tent, the magazine of his majesty's fireworks collected for the ensuing festival, exploded. On our way notice was sent to the viceroy of my approach, but when I arrived, about five o'clock, opposite the huts, no viceroy appeared ; notice was again sent, but the excuse was, that he was still at the palace. The rayhoon went on shore to examine if the bungalows were ready ; he was very solicitous to get me on shore : but, at length, finding I was fixed in my resolution, he desired leave to retire for the night. Between seven and eight at night, I was informed that the mayhoon of Hun-

zawuddy was near my boat, at a point of sand, and desired to see me. I returned for answer; I should be happy to see his excellency at my boat, as it was too late for me to go on shore. He then made his people pull him alongside my boat (for he had not quitted his own): when near enough to converse, he apologized for not being able to attend me according to his promise, and assured me, he would do himself the pleasure of seeing me in the morning; in the meantime he requested I would go ashore to the houses provided for me by his majesty. I told him I should attend him with pleasure to the bungalow's, whenever I had the pleasure of his company; that I had been so long in boats, that it was a matter of little consequence to me remaining on board a few more nights. He was pleased to add, he should be a very troublesome visitant in passing and re-passing from his house to the palace; was very jocular and familiar, occasionally laughing very heartily; his boat's crew and the surrounding people joining in his mirth. After staying about a quarter of an hour, he wished me a good night; it was so dark that I could but barely see him.

February 2. About eleven A.M., the rayhoon and the *ci-devant* shabunder came on board my boat, and delivered a formal message from the viceroy, that he had again been obliged to



go to the palace, and requested I would suffer the rayhoon to conduct me to the bungalows provided for me : they added, very seriously, that his majesty would be displeased, if he knew I was still on board my boats. In reply, I told them firmly and decisively, that it was unnecessary to say more on the subject ; that the viceroy had promised to meet me, and that I relied on that promise being fulfilled ; and that, as to his majesty's displeasure, the averting it did not rest with me. I then ordered tea for them, and they sent for the viceroy, who shortly after came from his house where he had returned from the palace. When the rayhoon saw his boat coming, he went on shore to the bungalow, and then sent to desire I would come on shore to receive the viceroy. I desired he might be told that he had made a mistake, that it was the viceroy who was to receive me, and requested he would come on board to conduct me to the viceroy. This he complied with. I then sent up to the bungalow a carpet with chairs, and, as soon as I saw the viceroy near the bungalow, I landed and went up to it. The chairs were ranged in two rows, with two chairs at the end of the room ; the viceroy pointed to me to sit down in the first chair on his left hand, or, at the head of the left-hand-row ; and seating himself in one of the end chairs, he put his betel-box and smoking-apparatus

on the other. The rayhoon and the subordinate officers were seated in the opposite row of chairs. I thought the arrangement rather awkward; but, considering the house as his, in this stage of the business I took no notice. It was evident, however, that he was much embarrassed, and seemingly doubtful how he should act.

The conversation opened with mutual inquiries after each other's health; he then inquired particularly how the Governor-General was; and, as his reserve gradually wore away, he entered into familiar conversation through the medium of a very able interpreter. He now expressed his wish that I would sleep on shore that night, which I said I would do with pleasure: the rayhoon immediately said, you paid no attention to our entreaties last night, but comply immediately when requested by the mayhoon. I replied, with a smile, his excellency knew how to command my acquiescence at all times, which occasioned a hearty laugh on all sides. I then ordered refreshment, and drew my chair to the head of the room, we then talked of business and various subjects; I gave him the specimens of the coins I had brought, informed him of the presents for his majesty, and delivered to him the Governor-General's letters. After sitting about an hour, he desired leave to retire. The mayhoon of Hunzawuddy is about thirty-seven

years of age, has a pleasing open countenance, and good person, is rather above the middle stature, and has a small black beard. His dress was a pink and white plaid pattern silk lungce, a short open muslin jamma, and gold embroidered muslin handkerchief round his head; gold spiral ear-rings, a ruby ring on the fore-finger of his right hand, gold wrist bangles, and Burmhan sandals, which he wore in the house: in his hand he carried a small chowrie. I ordered my bed and the furniture on shore, and in the evening two days' provision were sent from the Looto for myself and suite; and at night one of the Woondocks sent me a present of flowers.

*February 3.* About ten A. M. the rayhoon and Jhansey, the shabunder, brought people to unload the boats, and I got most of the things on shore. The viceroy passed and re-passed several times without calling as he had promised. Mr. Moncourtuse went over to his house in the morning, and translated the Governor-General's letters, with which he is said to have been much satisfied, and desired Mr. M. to inform me I might depend on every assistance in his power. By him he also sent me a present of fruit. The rayhoon was very inquisitive to-day as to the nature of our government and laws, and wrote down, before me, my answers to his queries. I encouraged this inquisitiveness, as he has gained

his influence with his majesty by making himself useful in that way. He has been at Madras and the European settlements on the coast several times; and is, for a Burmhan, an intelligent fellow.

*February 4.* In the morning I sent Mr. Moncourtuse with the invoices of the coins and a present of tea to the mayhoon. I desired him to tell the viceroy that I had not mentioned the coining implements among the presents to the king, the Governor-General having sent them as a particular compliment through him. He appeared much pleased, and renewed the assurances of his best offices, and promised to call on me in the course of the day. I got the coinage unpacked and put up, and had the satisfaction to find it perfect and in good order. The viceroy passed and re-passed without calling, but in the evening he sent me a present of two milch cows and calves, some rice, ghee, plantains, and sugar-cane: and from the Loto I received eight days' provisions. The viceroy and his lady promised to call on me to-morrow. A brother-in-law of his, and some young men, called in the course of the day, and I entertained them with tea, &c.

*February 5.* The viceroy and his lady passed to the palace without calling. About eleven A. M. the Rayhoon, &c., came from the palace. He brought with him a gold and silver coin, and a



map painted on cloth, which, he informed me, were sent by his majesty, who requested to know if I had any knowledge of the country described on the map or the coins. They were brought him by the messengers from the country they call Vizaddee, who had arrived to supplicate his majesty's assistance to place a person, they call the rightful sovereign, on the throne ; who, they say, had been dispossessed by his brother. In consequence of their representations, his majesty had assembled a large army, and had already sent off 20,000 men in advance, to clear the roads, &c., and meant to follow it up by a much larger force. According to their account, Vizaddee lies N. W. 800 miles from Amarapoorah ; a large river is delineated as running through the country, and is represented as falling into the sea near Chittagong, at no great distance from Vizaddee. Looking at the coins, I immediately knew them to be from Assam ; and could easily perceive the river to be the Burrampooter. Upon examining the map of Hindostan, I found that Ghugong, the capital of Assam, was situated about 360 miles N. W. from Amarapoorah ; and from their description of the country, the manners of the people, and other circumstances, I was convinced that Vizaddee was either one of the independent petty rajaships to the eastward of Ghugong, or another name for Assam Proper itself. I recollected also

having heard in Calcutta, that about two years ago a force of six companies of sepoy, under Captain Welch, had been detached from Rimpore, to establish the Mah Raj, Serack Deo, on the throne of his ancestors; that Lieutenant Wood, as surveyor, had accompanied him; and that I had with me a khidmutgar, who attended Lieutenant Wood on that expedition. I sent for him, and he immediately recognised the coins. I permitted the rayhoon to question him freely, and was fully convinced that my conjectures were right. I also recollected seeing a map of the same kind with Mr. Speke at Calcutta. I thought this a good opportunity of impressing them with an idea of the superiority of our troops, and told the rayhoon, that about two years since we had sent about 600 men to place the rajah of Ghugong on his throne; and that that number was found sufficient to conquer and defend the whole country. The whole of this conversation was minuted down, and carried to his majesty; and if I may judge from the impression it evidently made on the minds of the auditors, will put a stop to the Vizaddee expedition. The rayhoon then desired leave to retire, and said he should acquaint the viceroy and the whoonghees that the carriage was ready; and that, probably, the next day he might bring an order from his majesty to take charge of it. I told him I should be happy to

receive his majesty's commands; but that it was usual with us to begin at the bottom of the ladder, and that it would be necessary, in the first instance, for the whoonghees to settle certain preliminaries contained in a letter I had done myself the honour to address to them from Rangoon, and which, as yet, remained unanswered. He said he would inform them of my sentiments.

In the evening the viceroy, with several of the royal family, in their boats of state, paraded past my bungalow, to look at the carriage, and be looked at, but none of them came on shore. In the course of the evening I was informed, that the rayhoon had made his report to the whoonghees, who said they would make their report to his majesty in the morning, and let me know his pleasure.

*February 6.* In the morning I sent Mr. Burnett, with Mr. Moncourtuse, to the mayhoon, to inform him of what had been reported to me by the rayhoon, respecting the near approach of my audience of his majesty; and to request that he would state to the whoonghees, the necessity of my having an answer from them respecting the mode of my reception; as otherwise it would be impossible for me to leave my bungalow. He was seated on a chair, and rose when Mr. Burnett entered, and received him with much affability, and called for a chair; but there not

being another in his present habitation, Mr. Burnett waved ceremony, and seated himself on a mat. The place where he received Mr. Burnett was a shed, at a small distance from his house, raised about ten inches from the ground, built of bamboos and mats, and serving as a temporary durbar. He made the usual inquiries after my health, heard the message, and said he would speak to the Whoonghees respecting my Rangoon letters; but said, they would not receive the Governor-General's letters until I had an audience of his majesty. He then entered into familiar chat with Mr. Burnett, and ordered tea for him. Mr. Burnett, after sitting some time, expressing a wish to see some fireworks, which he was preparing for the ensuing festival, he desired the former Shabunder to shew them to him; and soon after came out and joined them, and told Mr. Burnett he should give him one of each kind to send to Bengal, as a specimen of their skill in that manufacture. I learnt that the rayhoon had been up all night with his majesty, I suppose, detailing what he had learnt of me respecting Vizaddee, or Vizallee. He came to me in the evening, and informed me that his majesty had given orders for my being introduced to an audience on the 8th, and requested I would prepare accordingly. I told him that I should be very sorry to disappoint his majesty's expecta-



tions, but that it was absolutely necessary I should be previously acquainted with every form and ceremony required at my introduction, as some mistakes had occurred on a former occasion, which were unpleasant and improper; and that, in order to avoid being subjected to any thing of the kind, I was determined to know what I was to expect before I quitted my bungalow. I therefore requested of him to obtain for me a written document, authenticated by the mayhoon, specifying minutely the mode and manner in which I was to be received; this he promised to obtain for me. He said nothing on the subject of the Vizaddee business.

*February 7.* It being evident to me that the Burmhan government wished to precipitate my audience, without coming to any previous explanation, I therefore deemed it expedient, in order to avoid further delay or evasion, to send Mr. Burnett, my own interpreter, Mr. Rowland, and Mr. Moncourtuse, the government translator, to inform the mewwhoon of the substance of the rayhoon's information last night, and my reply; and to deliver the following message:—"That I earnestly requested of his excellency immediately to procure the settlement of the preliminaries of my reception at court, and of my interview with the whoonghees; for until that arrived, I could not move from my house: that I had the firmest reliance

on the wisdom of his majesty's determination ; I was certain he would not require any concessions on my part unworthy the representative of a free and equal state ; or that he would not wish to see his own representative subjected to ; that I entreated of him to request of the whoonghees to reflect, that it was not Captain Cox who contended for an equality of rank, but the representative of the Supreme Government of the British Company's possessions in India, who derived his pretensions from his office, in the same manner they did from theirs ; it was not the man but the office which claimed respect. That the British nation, moderate and equitable in all its dealings, arrogated no superiority, but subscribed inferiority to none ; and, therefore, that the Supreme Government for the British Possessions in India, would never submit to treat with any nation in India, but on terms of perfect equality ; an axiom it was absolutely necessary for the ministers of the Burmhan government ever to keep in view, if they meant to establish or preserve friendship between the two states : that, in their negotiations with me, they must never use the language of degradation : that, when I had any thing to propose, or represent, I should, with all deference and respect, submit it, in the form of a memorial, for his majesty's consideration. Where I had a right to contend for, I should

demand attention, but never petition. Changing places I desired to ask him, how his majesty would like to have his letters to the Governor-General called petitions? I desired also, that he might be fully informed, that I would not in future pay any attention to any information, but what came immediately from himself, either verbally in person, or authenticated under his hand; as I looked up to him alone, in the present stage of my business for instruction, attention, and support: and that I was not a little surprised, that any other channel of communication should have been used, as it was unusual and improper: that I begged of him to consider, that the object of my mission was no trivial matter, but of infinite importance to the welfare of both states; and therefore deserving of the most deliberate consideration: that I should expect the pleasure of seeing his excellency, with the instrument I requested, in the course of the day; otherwise I should take it for granted, that his majesty's ministers meant to postpone my audience to some more convenient opportunity, or were not anxious for my having any audience at all. That I regretted very much being debarred the honour and happiness of a free personal communication with his excellency, which he had taught me to hope for at our first interview; (I had learnt that he had been advised to be sparing of his visits, that it might ad-

vance his importance), as exclusive of the happiness communicated by his presence, my reliance was on him for advice and instruction; concluding that he would find me on trial devoted to the interests of his sovereign and country; and as sincere in my attachment and respect for him, as I was candid and explicit in my communications. This message I committed to paper to prevent mistakes, and desired Mr. Burnett to deliver it *verbatim*, without comment, receive the answer, and return. The minister was at breakfast when he got to his house; I had desired Mr. Burnett to take a chair with him, on which he was seated in the durbar shade until the mewwhoon joined him. The mewwhoon seated himself on a kind of couch at one end of the room, and the members of his rangoon council present, namely, the rayhoon and shabunder Jhansey, were seated on mats on the floor. After the usual compliments, Mr. Burnett repeated the substance of the rayhoon's information, &c., and then proceeded to read my message. The mewwhoon inquired why he read the message. He was told, that it was our custom to commit all messages of importance to writing, in order to avoid mistakes. He said the English were very clever, and their customs in that respect better than the Burmhan; for it often happened, when he sent a message, the bearer, according to his humour, would say twice



as much, or not repeat half of it. Mr. Moncourtuse then said, "My lord, you must excuse me, if there should be any thing unpleasant in this message, the English always convey their real sentiments without disguise; and if I do not interpret faithfully, the Resident has sent his own interpreter, who will detect me, and then the Resident will be angry with me. I am, my lord, in the situation of a man with a rope round his neck, and the ends held by adverse parties; whichever way he may lean, he is in equal danger of being strangled." The mewwhoon laughed heartily, and said, "Yes, I can perceive the Resident is very circumspect and clever; go on without fear." In reply, he said, he was sorry that public business had prevented him being with me as often as he wished; that he considered me and the English interests under his immediate protection, and himself accountable to the Governor-General for all the good or ill that might happen to me; that the rayhoon was his immediate deputy, and hoped I would consider every communication from him the same as from himself, (he had privately desired, that I would not pay too much attention to him); that he would go to the palace, and procure the arrangement I wished. He would promise, that my reception should be unexceptionable; but would not undertake to settle the mode of my interview with the whoonghees; it must rest en-

tirely with his majesty, who would give directions on that head after my audience. He understood what my desires were, and hoped he should be able to satisfy me. He said, he was sorry he could not wait on me himself, but that he would send the rayhoon with the paper I required in the evening. Mr. Burnett then retired. About an hour afterwards, the shabunder Jhansey, the rayhoon, &c., came to my Bungalow, and informed me that the mayhoon himself was coming over to visit me. About half-past eleven A. M. the mayhoon landed, and my company left the bungalow to join him. My guard was paraded to salute him, and Mr. Burnett went out to meet him. He did not come immediately, but sat down to look at some of the coining-machinery that lay outside, and then went to look at the coach, which stood at the front angle of the enclosure near the house. Mr. Burnett attended him to shew it. It appeared to me, that he delayed coming to the house, in expectation of my coming out to meet him; but considering this as his first visit to me, and knowing it was a compliment never paid among themselves, I waited until he had gratified his curiosity, and received him at the entrance of my public room, ushered him to the upper end of the room, and seated him on my right hand on a couch placed there for that purpose. He appeared a little stiff at first; but

whether it was the embarrassment of a want of conscious dignity, or disappointed vanity, I shall not pretend to determine. Tea and sweatmeats were already prepared and presented to him, and I soon contrived to restore him to his wonted ease and good humour. I made a point of not entering on any part of my morning's message, or any topic of business; and when he retired he was presented with two bottles of otta and essences. About nine at night, the rayhoon came to my bungalow, and informed me, that every thing respecting the mode of my reception was settled; that a suitable accommodation-boat would be sent over in the morning for me and my suite, and war-boats to tow it; that a woondock and sandogans would come from the palace, and the viceroy himself from the opposite side to attend me; that horses would be sent down to the landing-place for my conveyance, &c., as it was too short a distance to employ elephants; that it would be necessary on this occasion for my guard to leave their arms behind them; that they might attend me to the gate of the palace, where they must stop with all my attendants but two; that it was expected I should take off my shoes at the same place, and also leave my chatter or umbrella behind; and, lastly, that the king and all the royal family would be present to receive me. He added, he did not give me this notice officially, that the mayhoon would

detail particulars in the morning; and, that in case the woondocks arrived before him, he requested of me to let them remain in their boats, until he came to introduce them. I thanked him for his kind attention, and requested he would do me the favour to give my respects to the mayhoon, and say I hoped to see him early in the morning, so that in case I should have occasion to object to any part of the ceremonial, there might be time to get it rectified, without delaying my audience to another day.

*February 8.* At seven A. M. I was informed that the mayhoon had arrived, but requested I would excuse his leaving his boat till the weather was a little warmer. I immediately sent him a handsome shawl, which I requested he would do me the favour to accept. He shortly after came up to the bungalow habited in his court-dress, *viz.*, a large bodied red velvet gown, with large wide sleeves trimmed with broad gold lace, and a red velvet cap about a foot in height, the peak slightly curved backwards, with a rim of gold plate round the bottom band, one inch and a half broad, and another about two inches higher up, with perpendicular gold leaves rising from it, shaped like spear-heads; the habit altogether much in the Chinese style. After sitting some time, he requested to know if I had any questions to ask him respecting the form of my audience.



I told him I waited for the information he had promised me; he then repeated to me nearly *verbatim*, what I had already heard from the ray-hoon, adding, that the business of my interview with the whoonghees could not be settled until after my audience with his majesty, who necessarily deferred determining on that subject, until he had read the Governor-General's letter; this excuse was plausible enough. He also excused the circumstance of taking off my shoes at the gate, as an insurmountable prejudice of their laws, which even the princes of the blood were obliged to submit to. When there was a necessity for submission, it was well to yield with a good grace; by making no demand, and leaving the arrangement to his majesty's pleasure, I had left myself free of the embarrassment of retracting, and probably obtained as much as I should have gained by a more offensive line of conduct. I therefore told him I was very well content with the arrangement, but requested he would avow the reason why elephants were not provided as on the former occasion. He assured me there was no particular motive, and that I might have an elephant whenever I wanted to visit any part of the country, or in case I should have an audience of his majesty at Amarapoorah. As it was my present business to confide in his assurances, I told him I was satisfied with his explanation, and

was ready to attend him. He then left me to give directions for embarking the carriage, coins, &c. &c. About half past ten A. M. I embarked with my suite on a boat such as is used by their men of rank. The channel we had to cross to the king's island, was not above 250 yards wide, but we were detained in the boat near an hour while they were landing the carriage, &c. I should have mentioned that the sandogans brought to my bungalow several stands or wooden waiters, about eighteen inches high, painted red and gilt, to carry the smaller presents on; these I had covered with red silk, and placed the Governor-General's letters to the king on one; the shanscrit books on five others; my own present to his majesty, a pair of right-hand chank on a sixth, and the Governor-General's letters to the whoonghees on a seventh: and when I left my house, they were carried down to the boat before me. The woondock did not come to my bungalow, but remained in his boat: he came, however, into the boat next to mine, just before I landed, and desired I might be informed he was there; as he did not come on board my boat, I took no notice of him. I had sent over saddles for the horses, but had predetermined to walk to the palace.

When I landed, the procession was formed as follows: The Governor-General's letters, &c., on the trays first, then the coins and coining machinery,

even to the large blocks of wood in which the presses are fixed; then the carriage; next two sandogans and rayhoon of Rangoon; then my servants; next myself and Mr. Burnett; in the rear the sepoys, two a-breast; after them servants and led horses; the woondock and mayhoon of Hunzawuddy to the left a-breast of me. They desired I would mount, and had horses attending for themselves, but finding I chose to walk, they walked also. As we made a sweep to the eastward, it increased our distance to about a mile over a loose sand; the sides of the road were lined with gazers, who, from our slow marching, had ample time to gratify their curiosity. About 300 yards from the east front of the palace tent, his majesty's troops formed an avenue. They were seated on the ground with their muskets and match-locks grounded, and pointing inwards with their muzzles a little elevated, as if ready to punish any aggression: they were dressed in the common habits of the country, and were a mere rabble. When the woondocks, &c., entered within the line of troops, they took off their shoes, and sent away their chatters or umbrellas. About 150 yards from the gate of the palace enclosure we halted, opposite a shade of bamboos; within which carpets and mats were spread. The mayhoon, &c., went into the shade, and requested I would come in out of the sun, until orders came for my proceeding: however, as it was expected I

should pull off my shoes, I declined the invitation. In about five minutes we again proceeded. When I came to the gate, I requested that my interpreters, the two orphan boys\* who came with me from Calcutta, and one servant might attend me, to which the mayhoon immediately agreed. While this was settling, they appeared very anxious for my pulling off my shoes, and alarmed for fear I should not comply; however, I told them, they need not doubt my performing all I had agreed to, and immediately I took them off, and sent back the other servants. The great door of the tent is close to this east side of the enclosure, but we entered at another gate a little to the right, on purpose I suppose, that the multitude might see me walking in the sun, on the bare ground without my shoes. Before we advanced, the sandogans and rayhoon kneeled down, closed their hands flat together, lifted them to their foreheads, and bowed their heads three times to the earth. At their request we took off our hats, and bowed in our own style three times, and then put on our hats again. The request was made with respect: we then advanced slowly towards the north face of the tent; midway the

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\* These were two boys from the orphan school at Calcutta, who had accompanied me for the purpose of making themselves masters of the Burmhan language; that they might eventually be useful in some of the public government offices.



prostrations on their part and bows on ours were repeated. Just before we came to the door of the tent, they desired me to take off my hat; this, however, I deferred doing until I got into the shade, as the sun was very hot. At the door of the tent, the prostrations, &c., were again repeated. The whole distance I had to walk in the sun might be about 100 feet. After the first prostration, the mayhoon turned immediately into the tent; and so ill had they concerted the farce they were acting with me, that a small pause occurred before they determined to lead me a little more round about. When we entered the tent, we saw the courtiers arranged in ranks to the right and left, seated on mats spread on the ground fronting the throne to the north, so that by entering to the north the princes of the blood, who were seated in the two front rows, had a perfect view of me. A small pause was made also for that purpose. We then walked slowly to the south, passing the right-hand rows to the rear, and then turned into the centre avenue between them, to about the centre of the court, where mats were placed for us, and we were requested to pay our respects to the throne; when I dropt on one knee, and bowed my head. We then seated ourselves; I placed my feet across under me in the Hindostanee style; the whoonghees desired I would cover my feet, which I imme-

diately complied with. Some one then desired the interpreter to tell me to sit sideways; the whoonghee called out, "Never mind;" I, however, immediately altered my position, placing my legs sideways, and leaning for support on my right hand, a very awkward and ungraceful position to those not accustomed to it. The grand audience-tent is circular, about 300 feet in diameter, supported in the centre by a stout mast about sixty feet high, the pinnacle rising above the top of the tent, perhaps twelve feet more, and gilt. The sides supported by an arcade of 100 arches; the piers of wood about fifteen feet high; the arches formed of bamboo work, the wall-plate which supports the back of the tent was of bamboos; stout ropes are extended in the inside from the centre pole to each pier, and then carried out to posts fifteen or twenty feet beyond, and made fast. These support the fly of the tent, which was made of single dungaree, (a coarse thick cotton fabric, common in India,) in the sea phrase, neither wind nor weather-tight. Round the base of the centre pole was built a pedestal about ten feet square, and fifteen high, whether of wood or masonry I had no opportunity of observing. Round it was a circular open railing about six feet high; and within the enclosure several large square glass lanterns were hung, and looking-glasses arranged, with other trifles of the same

kind. The throne, which came close to the outer edge of the tent, was an octagon of wood, like a large pulpit; each face was about ten feet; the floor elevated about six feet above the level of the tent; the sides open to the south and east, the west and north sides skreened by a curtain; the floor was carpeted, and a raised bench covered with velvet cushions laced with gold, was placed near the centre, a little advanced to the front. Below, within the circle of the tent was a raised seat like a clerk's reading-desk, covered with green velvet, edged and trimmed with broad gold lace, with large red velvet cushions on it, trimmed in the same manner. To the right and left of the throne on the ground, just within the arcade of the tent, were ranged twenty of the king's body-guard, in satin gowns trimmed with gold lace, with treble scalloped capes and cuffs, and gilt hats like Mambrino's helmet. Nearer the throne, to the right or west side, were seated in a line with the body-guards, six eunuchs of the palace, native Mahomedans, in white jammās and coloured silk lungees, with white handkerchiefs round their heads. The princes of the blood, the chobwas\*, and all the courtiers of superior rank, were dressed in red velvet gowns, like that worn by the mayhoon; the caps of the princes and chobwas, varying according to their rank;

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\* Petty tributary princes.

which is further denoted by the gold chains they wear. The inferior courtiers' dress and caps were made of satin trimmed with narrow gold lace, but in form the same as the viceroy's. In the avenue immediately fronting the throne, was placed, first, the stands with the letters and presents in a row, on a line with that of the princes; next the chests of treasure, then the coining machinery. The carriage was drawn up close to the outside of the arcade, about forty feet to the eastward of the throne, and within view of his majesty. In the rear of the treasure chests, and immediately in front of the throne, at the distance of about sixty feet from it, I and my suite were seated. About ten feet in front of me, to the left, was the mayhoon, or viceroy; and in a line with me to the left the rayhoon of Rangoon. In front, a little to the left also, were two sandogans; and in the rear, to the right, the shabunder Jhansey. After I had been seated about twenty minutes, a man, dressed in white, came into the enclosed place within the throne from the rear, as if to arrange the cushions on it, and, immediately after he had retired, his majesty entered, and seated himself on the throne. He was dressed in white muslin with a gold border, and had on a crown shaped something like a mitre, about fifteen inches in height, but how ornamented I was



too distant to observe. In his hand he had a small chowrie, made of peacocks' quills, with which he fanned away the flies; no one remained in the pulpit with him. He appeared rather lusty, his countenance open, and complexion rather fairer than the Burmahans in general, with a thin grey beard, and altogether like a Chinese of the southern part of the empire. When seated, he asked in a clear and audible voice, which was the Resident? Then, who was the gentleman next me? He then asked, whether my epaulets and cockade were insignia of my rank? Who were the persons attending in my suite? What was in the chests? What the use of the large blocks of timber, &c.? He was then pleased to say, that he understood I was a sensible and polite gentleman; upon which I placed my hand on my breast, and bowed my head. He immediately said—"Ah! that is the manner in which the Europeans salute their sovereigns. The hand placed on the breast means that their respect flows from the heart." To which the viceroy replied in the affirmative. The sandogan, first prostrating himself three times, then read from a taar leaf, in a singing tone, an account of the presents. After sitting about twenty minutes, the king, addressing himself to the viceroy, said, "The weather is very warm, I must retire, take care of him." He then rose from the throne, and retired to his palace in

the rear. He was answered sometimes by Mr. Moncourtuse, sometimes by the viceroy, and sometimes by the rayhoon. After he had retired, every one arranged their legs at their ease; the eyes of the court were turned on us, and restraint was banished. The princes, about five minutes afterwards, got up, and retired without ceremony: they were all bare-footed. The gracious reception I had met with from his majesty, seemed to have diffused a general satisfaction throughout the court; and after a quarter of an hour had elapsed, a number of pages, in satin gowns and caps, brought in Burmhan trays of sweetmeats. These trays were of wood, painted red, and gilt; they were about eighteen inches in height, the side supporters little turned balustrades, united at bottom by a circular rim. The sweetmeats were piled up in little china saucers, consisting of country-made confectionary, covered with conical covers of wicker-work, lacquered red and gilt. Twelve of these trays were placed before me and Mr. Burnett, one of them immediately opposite, filled with china confectionary, considered a rarity here. Next, every one of my attendants had a tray placed before him, then the chobwas, the whoonghees, &c. &c., each a tray served to them in turn, according to their rank, until the whole court was served. They pressed me to eat, and to please them I tasted

of almost every dish in the tray before me. Tea was then made and presented, the rayhoon and shabunder Jhansey serving us. Then trays of pawn leaf, with its appendages, were served; towards the conclusion, the courtiers pocketed the remainder of the sweetmeats, &c., and we were told we might retire. On retiring, I was particularly requested to take away some of the pawn leaf and sooparee, (or betel nut,) and to oblige them I put some of the nuts in my pocket, and gave the leaves to my attendants. On our return we advanced to the throne, immediately through the centre avenue formed by the ranks of courtiers, who still retained their order. We then filed off to the right, and left the tent by the same door at which we entered, and, on passing the throne, I stopped and made a low bow. The tent and various buildings of the palace were surrounded by a fence of bamboo lattice work, and within this fence a great number of the king's guard, like those on the outside, were arranged; and, while passing and re-passing, two tumblers exhibited their feats of activity. At the gate we again put on our shoes, and were joined by the rest of my servants. While standing at the gate, the woondock came up, and desired we would retire at our leisure, and not fatigue ourselves; the woondock, viceroy, and rayhoon, remained in the palace, the three san-

dogans only returned with us to our bungalow; when I gave each of them a present, as also the three boats' crews and others, with which they retired well satisfied. We were in the palace tent altogether about an hour and an half. Shortly after my return home Mr. Agazar, one of the principal merchants of Rangoon, waited on me, to congratulate me on my favourable reception; and said, from what he had heard, he was certain I might have any thing from his majesty that I might think proper to request. He then, for and in behalf of himself, and all the merchants of Rangoon, who, he said, considered themselves under the protection of the English Government, requested that I would represent to his majesty the ill consequences that would flow from the exclusive privilege he had given to Boodhan: who, he said, was an insolent unprincipled villain, who, by false representations, had deceived his majesty, and would ruin the trade of Rangoon. I told Mr. Agazar, that I considered the interests of the foreign merchants at Rangoon the same as those of the British subjects, and that it would at all times afford me infinite pleasure to render them every service in my power; but that, on an occasion of so much importance to the general interests, it was necessary to proceed with cautious deliberation. I, therefore, requested he would do me the favour to draw up a memorial, stating



the facts he had represented, and the consequences to be apprehended; to get it signed by all the principal foreign merchants, and send it to me as soon as it was convenient to him; all which he promised to get done, thanked me, and retired.

About four o'clock in the evening his majesty sent for Mr. Moncourtuse and Mr. Rowland, my private interpreter, in order, as he was pleased to say, that they might hear from himself his sentiments, so that I might not suppose them mere complimentary reports from his courtiers. He said, he thought I was a prudent sensible man, and asked what was my name. Mr. Moncourtuse defined the distinction between our christian and surnames. He then inquired what was my military rank, and whether I understood the art of war; then the nature of my appointment; which Mr. Moncourtuse defined attorney, or agent for the English East India Company's government in his dominions: with all which he expressed himself much satisfied. He then asked, if I was pleased with my reception, which was answered in the affirmative. He then said, I have ordered Jhansey to prepare boats, and to attend the Resident to see my pagoda whenever he chooses; let him go before the chambers or vaults are closed, that he may examine my mode of strengthening the chambers with lead. He then went to take possession of

the carriage, attended by eight bramins, his queens, the royal family, and courtiers. After the prayers of consecration were over, he opened the door with his own hand, the steps were taken down, and he got in, and expressed himself highly satisfied with its elegance; strictly enjoining his queens not to damage it. He pointed out an error in making the steps fold into the carriage, they ought to have been outside; but he observed, "It is my own fault for not having it so represented in the drawing I sent to the Governor-General." Mr. Moncourtuse represented to him, that it was the mode used for the steps of the carriages of all European sovereigns; and gave as a reason what I had previously told him, that if they were fixtures on the outside, they would be liable to be soiled by the mud thrown forward by the hind wheels in travelling. He said, it was very right, the Europeans best understood these matters. He then examined the *dies* and coins; and said, that the characters on the copper were very right, but that those on the rupees were obsolete. The viceroy told him, that I had promised to get the dies altered in any manner he pleased, with which he appeared highly gratified. He then expressed a wish to see the machinery; and the viceroy told him, I had been so kind as to promise to shew them the mode of fixing and using the machinery. "Yes," says he, "the Resi-

dent will do that in a few days, which we should be puzzling about for months. As soon as the festival is over, and we return to Amarapoorah, we will get him to instruct us. He then inquired, if I knew the country they called Vizalley, and whether it belonged to the English? Mr. Moncourtuse did not know how to satisfy him on these points. He then said, "I sent him some of the coins of the country, and he shewed my rayhoon a map of it; request of him to send me that chart, and the book that has a drawing of the air-balloon." Mr. Moncourtuse then retired. As he was leaving the palace, the king's favourite grandson, the eldest son of the heir-apparent, a boy about eleven years of age, sent for him, and told him, he was very happy to find his majesty so well satisfied; requested he would take charge of some refreshment for me, (two legs of beef, four pieces of pork, and a jar of ghee); to assure me of his esteem, and that I had only to send to him for any thing I might want, and if it was to be had in his grandfather's dominions, he would procure it for me. Two days before, he had requested to see a book of natural history, with painted figures, which I immediately sent to him; when he returned the book, he sent me some provisions, with a polite message of thanks. The internal evidence arising from this faithful statement of facts is sufficient, I hope, to justify the line of conduct

I had adopted: if the egotist appears in any part, it should be remembered, it must unavoidably be the case, with all who write their own commentaries; and if I have deviated from the path of my predecessor, let it be considered as the effect of necessity, rather than the affectation of choice.

*February 9th.* At ten A.M. the king sent for Mr. Moncourtuse, to translate the Governor-General's letters, &c. He took with him the map of Hindostan, and plates of the arts and sciences. When he arrived at the palace, he found his majesty deeply engaged in distributing charity to the poonghees with his own hands, so that he had no opportunity of speaking to him; he therefore left the maps, &c., at the palace, and returned, after translating the letters. The whoonghee inquired particularly after my health. In the evening the rayhoon called at my bungalow, and brought back the map, &c.: he said nothing about the Vizalley business. I had desired the rayhoon to tell his majesty, that I should with pleasure attend him at any time to explain the map, or inform him on any other subject he might want to know. He told me, his majesty meant to send me a large book for information on the subject; and that when he returned to Amarapoorah, he said he would shew me all the presents, &c., he had received, and take my advice as to what should be kept or



repaired, and what given away. He told me also, that his majesty was very desirous to see a balloon, and hoped I would endeavour to gratify him. I promised to get one made if possible, but could not answer for the success, as we were in want of some of the necessary apparatus for filling it. We then settled that I should visit the pagoda in the morning, but he told me it would be necessary for me to take off my shoes; I desired he might be assured I should do that without hesitation; that the English respected every religion, considering the object of all the same, however differing in the mode. They all appeared much pleased with this answer, and said I should soon be a Burnmhan. Knowing that the most minute particle of my conversation and conduct is transmitted to his majesty, I have not failed to avail myself of every opportunity to conciliate his good opinion, and effect my wishes, without the disagreeable necessity of a public solicitation; all their pretended councils and delays were a farce, intended merely to gain time and sound my views and disposition.

*February 10th.* At nine A. M., a gun was fired from the palace, to notify that his majesty was going to cross the river; shortly after he came down to the water-side in the new carriage, the old one attending. When he put off, three guns were fired from the war-boats. the first queen

also crossed in her boat; when she landed on the Mheghoon side, three more guns were fired. His majesty crossing prevented my excursion, which is put off till to-morrow. The grandson of the Enga Tekaing's whoon (or prime minister) visited me. I paid him attention on account of his grandfather, who has the reputation of being a very able and a very just man. The rayhoon sent his compliments to me in the evening, and informed me it would be better to postpone my visit to the pagoda, as the ensuing day the crowd might incommode me.

*February 11th.* Employed in planning a balloon for his majesty; about noon the rayhoon came and pressed me to send something curious to the king's grandson; I therefore sent, under his charge, with my interpreter Mr. Rowland and a chubdar, a volume of curious English birds painted by Donovan in a very superior style, a set of white flint cut-glasses for his betel-box, a white flint cut-glass smelling-bottle filled with essence, a bottle of ottah of roses, two boxes of Tunbridge toy, two small boxes of Dutch toys, some gilt writing-paper, with black lead pencils and a sportman's knife. The rayhoon also requested I would make his majesty a present of a round hat with a white turban, and black and red feathers, which I used as an undress-hat; I therefore sent it also. When Mr. Rowland arrived at

the palace, he was admitted into the garden with the presents, and found the young prince in the palace-garden with his uncle the prince of Prone. He was highly delighted with the presents, particularly the glass-ware. He carried the whole to his grandfather, who was seated at some distance, with only a red silk lungee round his loins, and a white muslin fillet round his head. When my hat was presented to his majesty he put it on his head, and kept it on for some time. He said this is a high proof of the Resident's regard for me, he has given me the hat he has worn himself; he could not do more for his own Sovereign." He then took it off, and gave it to his grandson to have it laid by carefully: the boy said, "I will wear this when I go in the war-boats." "No, no," said the king, "it is not for you." He then asked the rayhoon, if he had told me, that he had given orders for my being obeyed as Resident at Rangoon, (which I forgot to mention above,) and whether I was pleased? The rayhoon answered in the affirmative. The king then desired the rayhoon to tell me to ask him for any thing I wanted, and it should be granted. The rayhoon said he believed I would like to have a pair of elephants. Some of the courtiers observed, that the viceroy of Pegu had only two; that he wanted to make me equal to the mayhoon; and that it was not proper to raise me too high at

once. The rayhoon said, I was a stranger, and therefore an exception should be made in my favour. "Ay, ay," replied the king, "let him have whatever he wants." Mr. Rowland overheard part of his conversation, and learnt part from the by-standers. The rayhoon has twice or thrice sounded me, to know if I wished to have a title conferred on me, and this day said that he had heard one proposed, the same as the first minister's. I have always replied generally, that I should willingly accept of any mark of his majesty's favour, provided it did not interfere with my public situation; but that I first wished to have my interview with the whoonghees, and rank as Resident for the Honourable Company settled. I am well convinced the proposal about the title and the elephants originated with himself; from all accounts I find he is a chief favourite with his majesty, and is in truth a very shrewd fellow. The king then asked whether I had been to see the pagoda; the viceroy told him I meant to go to-morrow. He asked also about the balloon, the viceroy replied he had been employed all day in preparing a drawing of it, and after the drawing was finished we would make a balloon. His majesty was very anxious to have it finished, and desired we might be furnished with whatever we wanted. The viceroy and woondock sent their compliments by Mr.



Rowland, who staid at the palace about two hours, and had nearly lost his hat and coat, the young prince having taken them to shew his grandfather; the viceroy kindly went and brought them for him. The chobwa of Bornoo paid me a visit in the course of the day. He is the person who pretended to have brought the three daughters of the emperor of China from Peking, as a present for his majesty; and he escorted the Chinese ambassadors last year. I cannot say that his appearance or behaviour prepossessed me much in his favour. The Enga Tekaing's whoon also sent his compliments to me, thanked me for my attentions to his grandson, and made a tender of his services. The rayhoon proposed that I should visit the seradho-ghee, after I had seen the pagoda, and then call at the mayhoon's; but I begged leave to decline visiting any one, until I had visited the princes of the blood, and met the whoonghees.

*February 12.* At seven A. M. the rayhoon came to my bungalow, and informed me that the mayhoon had sent two war-boats, to convey me and my suite to the main, to visit the new pagoda. After breakfast we set out on our excursion, myself with a part of my suite in one boat, Mr. Burnett with the interpreter, &c., in a second, and the rayhoon in his own boat. In a few minutes we crossed the narrow channel which divides my

island from the main, and landed on a sandy beach, and walked up to the pagoda, which is but a small distance from the landing-place, as the foot of the hill on which it is erected is washed by the river in the rains. On our way we were met by the third whoon\* of the palace (accidentally); he stopped and inquired kindly after my health, and said he wished to be better acquainted with me; that his majesty had appointed him to go with the army to Vizalley; that he meant to return by the way of Calcutta, and would be obliged to me for letters of recommendation and introduction. I told him I should be happy to render him any service in my power. We then parted, he proceeding to his own house, and we towards the looto or public court of the whoonghees. The rayhoon requested I would pull off my hat in passing the looto, as the whoonghees were there, a compliment which I begged leave to decline paying, as being inconsistent with my public situation. When we came a-breast of the looto, (an open shed with a raised platform about four feet from the ground, and thatched), the rayhoon desired us to stop a little. The second whoonghee who is also generalissimo of his majesty's forces, was sitting in the looto in his

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\* Whoon a term applied to the household establishment of the king and royal family: for instance, the heir-apparent's first whoon is considered as his prime minister.

undress. He sent for Mr. Moncourtuse and desired him to tell me, he hoped I would excuse a little delay, as he had sent to know his majesty's pleasure as to what he wished I should be shewn: he added that I was a lucky man, that my conduct had given such satisfaction to every one, that his majesty regarded me as one of his own children. During this conversation, I was standing about fifteen yards from the looto, remarking the royal boats near the bank; in a few minutes the rayhoon joined me, and desired I would return to the steps ascending to the pagoda from the river front. These steps consist of three flights, about thirty feet broad at the lowest step, and twenty at the highest; of ordinary brickwork masonry, with a low parapet wall on each side, and led to the first terrace about fifteen feet above the ordinary level of the river in the rains. The revetement of the river-face of this terrace was of stones wrought to an equal surface on their exterior superficies; but rough and irregular on their interior, laid in common mortar made of stone pounded, or lime and sand. At the lowest step we were requested to take off our shoes, which we immediately did: all our servants were allowed to attend us, and I was allowed to take my Hindoostanee punkah. We were not at any time desired to take off our hats. Immediately within the verge of the first terrace, on either

side of the steps, are erecting two colossal figures of lions, or rather sphinxes, in positions rather couchant than rampant. They are of brick masonry, and seated on pedestals of the same materials; the surface of the pedestals are about two cubits above the level of the terrace, and the height of the figures from the surface of the table to the crown of their heads is fifty-eight cubits; making altogether sixty Burmhan cubits of nineteen inches each, or ninety-five English feet. The body and limbs are of proportionate magnitude, according to the Burmhan ideas of sculpture; the eyes and teeth are of alabaster, the eye-ball, which we had an opportunity of measuring, was thirteen feet in circumference. The northernmost figure is finished to the plastering and ornamental parts, the sockets for the eye-balls are left vacant, and to place the eye-balls in them will require some exertions of mechanical ingenuity, which I should like to see. There are six terraces rising above each other, their parapet walls equidistant, and revetements of the faces of each of good brick masonry, with stone spouts ornamented with sculptured alligators' heads, to carry off the water. Above these is a seventh terrace, on which is the plinth of the pagoda, and the eighth terrace is formed by the upper surface of the plinth. The seven lower terraces have not been wholly formed by art, but advantage taken of a little



mount, the sides of which have been cut down, and then reveted with masonry; the levels of the terraces so far, being left of the common soil, a sandy loam mixed with shingly stones. Upon the seventh terrace rises the exposed part of the base or plinth of the intended structure; the foundation of which is sunk of solid masonry still lower; how much I have not been able to ascertain. Within the plinth a hollow chamber is left, forming a quadrangle whose extent is sixty-one feet six inches, its depth eleven feet, and the walls being twelve feet eleven inches thick, make the exterior surface a square of eighty-seven feet four inches. The interior of this chamber is plastered with white chunam, and decorated with painted borders and pannelled compartments, with trees and flower-pots in them. There are also rows of columns twenty-nine inches square, and pilasters, to support the leaden beams and terrace with which the whole is to be covered when the dedicated treasures are deposited there; with a number of quadrangular compartments, large and small, from ten feet to four feet five inches square to contain them; the smaller ones being lined with plates of lead three-fourths of an inch thick. The innermost quadrangles are intended for the preservation of the treasures dedicated by his majesty, while the span around them is devoted to the oblations of his courtiers. Opposite

each of the smaller compartments, ins; but my at- equal to that of the larger ones, the building, appeared like so many wells, was placed to gaze Bengal carpets, little hollow temples, typically, in square, with pyramidal roofs ornamented made of Burmhan style; the interior frame being rated painted wood covered with thin plates of silver or alloyed to about fifty per cent. standard; in height from the base to the pinnacle seven feet, the eves ornamented with strings of red coral, about six beads in each, terminated with heart-shaped pieces of common window-glass. Round the solid part of the building and upon the terrace, were arranged piles of leaden beams, about five inches square, and of sufficient length to cover the respective chambers, with plates of lead of the same length fourteen inches broad, and three-fourths of an inch thick for the coverings; and besides these, a number of slates of a schistous granite were arranged in readiness to cover the whole. We were told that there was another set of chambers of the same dimensions and structure, charged with treasure below these: how true this is I cannot pretend to determine. The invention of lining the chambers with lead for the preservation of the treasures, is an honour claimed by his present majesty, who has great skill in these matters. That the design has a divine

ocular demonstration, three plates gilt with gold-leaf being had been brought and arranged them at night by angels. Our sanction we had been brought and arranged them at night by angels. Our piles of lead shewn us, that the building was where agents could have transported such materials unobserved: it is, therefore, considered and believed as a miracle of divine sanction. This I was particularly desired to note in my pocket-book which I did on the spot, and to it an observation of my own, that a globe of melted wax, such as is used by the Burners for candles, had been dropt on the slabs, therefore, suppose the night must have been dark, and that the angels worked by candle-light. From the level of this terrace, a conical spire of solid masonry is intended to be erected, the weight of which I am afraid will prove too great for the leaden beams; but it would be a dangerous piece of impertinence for a stranger to offer any advice on these sacred matters, otherwise I could easily secure the safety of the superstructure, by shewing them how to turn arches over the hollow chambers. From the summit of this terrace is commanded a very extensive and pleasant view of the meanderings of the Erawuddy, the valley it winds

through, and the adjacent mountains; but my attention was too much occupied by the building, and the crowds of both sexes that flocked to gaze at us, to examine distant objects. Centrically, in front of the first terrace, is erected a shade of bamboos with an avenue in the centre, decorated with a double arcade of bamboo open-work, ornamented with flowers, for his majesty to perform his devotions in, and pass through when he goes to view the progress of the building. Round the summit of the rubbish also, are placed little open moveable shades for him to sit in. To the right of the covered avenue is a small temporary theatre of bamboo and thatch, where the dancers, tumblers, and musicians, exhibit on festival days before his majesty and the royal family. A number were collected for our amusement; we sat to see them for about half an hour, and then went to view the dedicated treasures. They were arranged on the platform of a bamboo shade, about seventy feet in length and thirty broad; they consisted of a great variety of Burmhan temples and keouns in miniature, covered with plates of fifty per cent. silver, and filled with little images of their idols from three inches to a foot in height of the same materials. Besides those in the temples, &c., there were squadrons of others of the same kind and quality arranged on the floor; also many which they said were of solid gold, but on



examination we found them less valuable; there were also two rows of about a dozen larger images of alabaster, from four to two feet in height, well gilt and burnished. These were of that remarkable kind which I have before noticed in this diary; their cast of features and hair being precisely that of the Abyssinian negroes; all the others were of Indian origin (but I shall have occasion to discuss this subject more at large in another place). There were also several gilt metal flat caskets, said to contain gold and precious stones; Mr. Burnett saw the contents of two or three, though I did not; in them were several coloured stones, none above ten or fifteen carats weight, set in gilt foil. There were also several piles of bricks, slabs of coloured glass, and white chattahs, such as are used by the royal family; and, lastly, one of Dr. Priestley's machines for impregnating water with fixed air. On the opposite side in another shade, was an image of a deity in a portable temple, with poles fixed to it for four bearers, which we were informed, were sufficient when its godship was in good humour, but when displeased not all the power of the Burmhan empire could move it. Many miraculous cures are ascribed to the power of this deity; in pity to the multitude, it is therefore hoped that his majesty will not immure it in the vaults of the new temple. In a separate shade, in a moveable

wooden-house which travels on wheels, is a print of the foot of Gaudma, in a slab of marble, from the heel to the toe. It is about three feet in length and of a proportional breadth; but, the history of this impression I did not learn, as my conductors were in haste to go home. At the gate of this enclosure, the sanctified ground terminating, we again put on our shoes and descended towards the river, passing the Lotoo in our way back to the boats. Round the Lotoo were seated a great number of the country guards with their arms piled, their appearance much the same as the rabble infantry of the native powers in India. The rayhoon desired permission to return to his own house, and we being embarked in the boats as we came, were soon landed at our own.

*February 17.* The rayhoon dined with me, and informed me that his majesty was much pleased with a fowling-piece I had sent him as a present; the rayhoon had also taken my bheastris\* musseck† to shew him. This the shabunder slung on his shoulder and carried up to the pagoda to his majesty, who made his oblations at the pagoda with the water from it, opening it himself. The rayhoon also described to his majesty a nutmeg-grater he had seen me use at table, and

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\* A water-carrier.

† A bag made of goats'-skin used for carrying water.

in his zeal to gratify his majesty's curiosity, sent a messenger over at twelve o'clock at night to request Mr. Moncourtuse to wake me and get the nutmeg-grater; but Mr. M. declined troubling me on such a trifling affair, at so unseasonable an hour. I mention these petty anecdotes, as they tend much to elucidate the character of this people. The court does not break up till late at night; his majesty taking delight in listening at that time to the tales and news of the day. I sent by the rayhoon my spice-box with spices as a present to his majesty; and in the evening received a packet of letters from Bengal, brought to Rangoon by the shahunder's ketch Regina, Captain Imbert, and from thence by one of the government's sherrydoghees: they conveyed to me the pleasing intelligence of the capture of the Dutch squadron by Admiral Elphinstone, &c. &c.

*February 18.* Thinking it might have a good effect, I wrote a letter to the mayhoon of Hunzawuddy this morning, detailing to him the news I had received from Calcutta, and sent Mr. Burnett, and the two interpreters with it. The mayhoon seemed pleased with my attention, and spontaneously observed that such communications were usual among states who were on terms of amity with each other; and desired I might be assured he should always rejoice in the good fortune and prosperity of the English nation.

The mayhoon sent me a present of some rice in the evening, and a man, whom he said he had directed to supply me with any thing I might require.

*February 21.* The king's removal still remains uncertain, the covering in of the chambers not being yet completed; various are the stories I am amused with; procrastination and fiction seem to be prominent traits in the character of a Burmhan courtier. This morning the looto sherrydoghee sent a few baskets of rice, which I immediately ordered to be sent back, determined not to receive any further supply of provisions from that quarter, as they had so egregiously abused his majesty's trust, in neglecting me. However desirous his majesty may be to see a balloon exhibited, his orders for supplying the materials being issued through the looto, we find great difficulty in obtaining the necessary materials. The whoonghees issue peremptory mandates to various persons to come and assist; the poor fellows are brought in a great hurry from Amarapoorah, and, when they arrive, solemnly declare they know nothing of the business for which they have been sent; and are then dismissed. Two or three men to distil spirits of wine, and half a dozen to make a retort, have thus been bandied backwards and forwards to no purpose; so deficient are they in



common artists; or rather, so deficient are they in rewarding ingenuity, that talents are shrouded under pretended ignorance, to prevent trouble. The rayhoon dined with me, and endeavoured to persuade me to send some presents to the queens. This I, however, declined doing, telling him I had already swerved from my original intentions, in making any presents before my business was settled; that, making presents beforehand, had the appearance of a design to bribe, or interest the court in my favour; an accusation I was determined not to afford grounds for to my enemies; that my business required no such fallacious support; that I had no favours to beg, but rather came to confer benefits, by promoting the interests of the Burmhan nation. He then tried to work on my vanity, by informing me that his majesty had directed the whoonghees to publish, that I should be received every where as Resident at Rangoon, agreeably to the Governor-General's letters; that I should have a title, and the same insignia carried in my train as the first ministers were allowed; that the whoonghees, after leaving the presence, held a council, to debate on the propriety of acceding to his majesty's wishes, and to search the records for a precedent; after a long search they could find no precedent to countenance so great an extension of his majesty's favour to a stranger,

and therefore determined in the negative; and that, to strengthen their party, they had consulted the first queen, who had coincided in opinion with them: therefore, says he, it is the mayhoon's, and my opinion, that you should endeavour to conciliate the queen to your interest, by sending her something curious. I told him that the whoonghees had given themselves a great deal of trouble for little purpose; that I neither sought for title or honorary distinction beyond the respect and attention due to me, as the representative of the Honourable East India Company's Government in India, which I claimed as a right; that I expected, and wanted no more, any thing beyond it I should consider as perfectly gratuitous on the part of his majesty, flowing from his bounty, as a mark of his attention to the Honourable the Governor-General's recommendation, and as a proof of his approbation of my conduct; as such, I should receive it with gratitude and respect: but desired it might be clearly understood, that, I never asked for these extra favours, and was not so much dazzled with the prospect of obtaining them, as to make a party at court to ensure my success; besides, that I was convinced in my own mind of the folly of such an attempt; for, that I well knew it was not in my power to bribe her majesty to persuade the king to

notice me, if unworthy of his royal favour, and if my conduct and mission deserved her patronage, it needed no other recommendation. This conversation I seasoned with occasional compliments to his own superior sagacity, so as to keep him in good humour with himself and me. At length, finding his rhetoric was of so little avail on that side of the question, he changed his attack, and said, his majesty had been informed of the whoonghees' resolution, and that he replied, "What I have done, I have done; if there is no precedent on record, I will now make one; let my orders, therefore, be immediately entered on the records." But, returning to his former charge, he added, notwithstanding the propriety of all you have urged, yet the Burmhan customs are so different from yours, that I still wish you would send a present to her majesty. I told him, he might rest assured that, as soon as my business was settled, I should make an offer of every thing in my possession for her majesty's service. After dinner, he offered me 100 ticals, which he informed me he received from the looto by his majesty's orders; and, that I was to have 100 every ten days. In various conversations, I had desired to be excused receiving any thing of the kind; but, being informed on all hands, that it was the custom of the country, and that it

would be a high affront to his majesty if I refused, I therefore told him, that in compli-  
ance to his majesty's wishes, I should accept  
the ten ticals per diem, if that was the sum  
allotted, provided it was regularly paid; but  
that I would not suffer any part to be with-  
held, or the payment delayed by the subordi-  
nate officers of the loot; for in such cases I  
should immediately return the whole. In the  
meantime, I desired him to keep the money  
until I heard from the mayhoon. It will be one  
of my first endeavours to get this mode of sup-  
plying me abolished altogether, as expensive to  
his majesty, often oppressive to his people, and  
disgraceful to the receiver, The rayhoon being  
determined he would not go without something  
for her majesty, at last begged a bottle of otta,  
and wished me a good evening.

*February 24.* The rayhoon dined to-day with  
me, but he had little to communicate, except  
that the closing of the wells was finished; that  
he did not expect that his majesty would cross the  
river in less than three days more. The may-  
hoon's uncle having departed this life, I learn  
that he has gone to Amarapoorah, and will remain  
there some days. I have not had the plea-  
sure of seeing him since the day of my audience,  
but a polite intercourse of messages and kind  
offices has been kept up between us.



*February 25.* Mr. Jhansey, the shabunder, breakfasted with me; and from him I learn, that the king has settled that the Enga Tekaing is to remain at Amarapoorah, and that the princes of Prone, Bassim, Tonghoo, and Pegain, are to join the northern army next week. This army is now said to be 50,000 strong; but this is the region of fables. Lord Chesterfield's rule of believing only half would fail here—it is hardly prudent to believe more than you see. The truth is, that it seems to make part of the policy of this government to have always some tale of an enterprise afloat to amuse the populace, and veil their real intentions, by circulating false reports; but, in spite of all this caution, a few rays of truth occasionally reach me; and the time approaches, I hope, when I shall be able to avail myself of them.

*February 26.* The rayhoon called in the morning; he could not, or rather would not, give me any information on the subject of my business being brought forward, and made no further mention of a house preparing for me near the palace. About four P.M. he called again as he returned from the palace, and informed me his majesty had sent him with Mr. Jhansey, the shabunder, and his household steward, with a present of fruit, consisting of ten large baskets of walnuts, a basket of chestnuts, and one of China figs, or rather dried loquots. I received his majesty's

present with all due attention, regaled his servants, and gave the steward a piece of cachedas, and the porters, who were part of his majesty's body-guard (a parcel of naked ragamuffins, seventy in number), two pieces of choppa-romaul, being one handkerchief for each. I was informed afterwards that his majesty was well pleased with my attention to his servants.

*February 27.* At noon, by appointment, the rayhoon called, and accompanied my interpreter, Mr. Rowland, with the presents I had prepared for the two queens; they were graciously received, his majesty and several of the princes of the blood being present. Among the articles was a bottle of eau-de-luce, which his majesty took, telling the first queen she must give him that, as he best knew the use of it. He practised on the ignorance of the princes by giving them the bottle to smell, and enjoyed the confusion of their surprise when affected by its strength. Their majesties sent back with my servants a present of some water-melons, &c. In the afternoon the rayhoon returned, but too late for dinner, at which he seemed a little disappointed, as he is very partial to our fare. I now pressed him to be explicit, and inform me whether his majesty had determined any thing respecting my interview with the whoongees, when I soon found that I had all the battle to fight over again. He

endeavoured to shift the discourse by informing me how anxious his majesty was to see the balloon, and that as soon as it was finished I might have any thing I required. I stopped him short in this career, and desired that he would never mention the balloon again to me, till my public reception and business was over; that I was not deputed to make balloons, but to cement friendship between the two nations; that, with the English, business superseded all amusement; the first concluded, I should then with pleasure dedicate all my efforts to gratify his majesty's curiosity. He then mentioned that one of the relations of the former rajah of Arrakan, whom his majesty had ordered to court, had made his escape, and taken refuge at Chittagong; that the mayhoon of Arrakan had written to the chief of Chittagong, to deliver him up, but had received no answer; and therefore his majesty requested I would write to the Governor-General to have this man delivered to the government of Arrakan. I told him I should be happy to comply with his majesty's wishes, but it was impossible for me to enter on public business, until I had been publicly received by the whoonghees, &c., as the representative of the Honourable East India Company's government, and every thing respecting my public station concluded. He told me it would be better to consult with the mayhoon on the sub-



ject. I therefore determined to write him a letter without delay, claiming the promise he made me of obtaining the settlement of all these preliminaries to my satisfaction, when at his instance I consented to my first audience.

*February 28.* To-day I sent Mr. Moncourtuse with my letter to the viceroy. The rayhoon's people had been building a house for him near mine; this morning they took it down, and removed all the materials. I suppose, therefore, the plan of operations is to be altered.—Alas! what wretched politics. This day the royal family are to shew to his majesty the fire-works they have prepared for the ensuing display: this farce is to last four days, and then they are to be exhibited. To dissipate reflection, by idle amusement, seems to be one of the engines of Burmhan policy—thus love of art prevails in all despotic courts, the difference between the barbarous and the polished only consisting in the modification. The rayhoon called on me in the evening, and informed me that his majesty had ordered a shed to be erected for me to see the display of the fire-works. He then proceeded to inform me, that he had also given directions to the whoonghees and woondocks to meet me at a shade, erected for him to stand in when going across the river, as I appeared to be averse to meeting them at the looto; that when they were



assembled, notice would be sent me, and proper boats provided to take me across the river; and that if I would then state my wishes to the council, they would report them to his majesty for his consideration. I told them I was fully sensible of his majesty's kind attention, and was extremely sorry it would not be in my power to wait on the whoonghees until all the preliminaries of my interview were settled; that I had written to the mayhoon on the subject, and waited his answer. A good deal of desultory conversation ensued of little moment, and, finding the turn affairs were taking, and that delicacy was lost on them, I therefore threw my sentiments on paper in the form of a memorial to be submitted to his majesty, and sent a rough draft of it by Mr. Moncourtuse to the mayhoon for his private information. The mayhoon was asleep when Mr. Moncourtuse arrived at his house, but got up immediately, and had my letter read to him, and sent me a reply in writing (for the first time) to the following effect:—"That, as he had endeavoured to convince me of his friendship, he hoped that I would listen to his advice, and comply with his majesty's wishes; and that he would take care to send proper boats, according to my station, to convey me across the river," &c.

I returned a polite answer to this request, expressive of my regret that I should have occasion

to differ for a moment from his excellency; and desired that he might be informed I should send him the result of my determination in a paper, to be submitted to his majesty. I was told that this written note of the mayhoon's was a great proof of his condescension, and written in a complimentary style, a mode quite unusual: we may, therefore, hope in time they will acquire politeness.

*March 1.* In the morning early, I sent Mr. Moncourtuse to the mayhoon with my propositions for his majesty's consideration. Mr. M. told me, the viceroy said, they were all just and reasonable, but that he much wished I would relinquish the stipulation of the whoonghees visiting me, as he much feared it would not be granted. I gave Mr. M. no hopes of my altering my resolution, and charged him not to flatter them with any. The viceroy had ordered him to attend at the palace to translate the propositions; he went there, and staid several hours; when he returned, he denied having translated the paper, but I believe the contrary, and am pretty certain that he is restrained in his communications. The rayhoon came to dinner, and brought the still-head, to distil the spirits of wine for the balloon; they had been obliged to get Cossay artists to make it: I saw them; they appear more like Bengalees than Burmhans, but speak a language

different from either. The rayhoon enjoyed his dinner as usual; after dinner the generalissimo, or second whoonghee, sent his nephew and two other relations with a present of fruit and refreshments for me. I received them with attention, and, as usual, presented the nephew with a set of betel glasses; the other two with a piece of Bandanna handkerchiefs each, and the bearers with four pieces of Choppah romals. After they were gone, the rayhoon began with the old story, but with as little success as before. He then took his leave to go to the palace; and Mr. Moncourtuse went across the river to the mayhoon. These refreshments were intended to be presented to me after my interview with the whoonghees, but, as I did not go, they were sent me at this time.

*March 2.* The rayhoon called about noon. We had again a long private conversation respecting my interview with the whoonghees, which ended as the former ones, with my remaining fixed in my determination. He requested me to give him a bottle of otta for his majesty, which I complied with. Late at night, Mr. Jhansey brought me a letter from the viceroy, requesting I would waive an interview with the whoonghees, which Mr. Jhansey backed with all his rhetoric to no effect. I answered the mayhoon's letter immediately, and sent a Burmhan



translation with it. Mr. Jhansey then requested to know if I would go and see the exhibition of the fire-works the next day, to which I readily assented.

*March 3.* About twelve at noon, a sando-ghan came, and informed me that the woondock had sent him with boats to convey me and my suite across the river; they consisted as before, of a large pleasure-boat, towed by two war-boats. From the landing-place we walked about 400 yards to the shade, erected for the occasion, about a musket-shot to the northward of the palace, and fronting the east, where the fire-works were arranged along the main bank of the river; this shade was constructed, as are all the other buildings here, of bamboos and mats. It had a veranda about two feet lower than the main platform of the building, and another beyond it on the level of the sandy plain. At the outer veranda I found the rayhoon and Mr. Jhansey waiting to receive me. Myself and Mr. Burnett were seated on chairs on the highest platform; the rayhoon also seated himself on a mat, on the highest platform, some distance to my left; Mr. Jhansey remained on the raised veranda below us, but, after some time, sent for a chair for himself; all the other Burmhan officers, &c., remained in the lowest veranda; here we were entertained with country-dances and music;



and Mr. Jhansey sent for tea and sweetmeats. The Burmhan fire-works consist chiefly of large crackers, made in joints of bamboo, and a kind of Catherine-wheels, that are fired off horizontally, and, when well made, are projected by the impulsive force of the powder perpendicularly in the air, to a considerable height, whirling round with great impetuosity and noise, both in their ascent and descent; but for one that succeeds a dozen fail, so bad is the powder, and so little are they acquainted with the rules of composition. Some of these wheels are said to contain 2,000 viss, or 7,000 pounds of powder,—perhaps this account is exaggerated. In size, as near as I could judge from the distance, the largest seemed to me about thirty feet in the transverse diameter, and six feet in height, and, when fired, formed an immense column of smoke. Each courtier had his fire-works separately arranged, and surrounded by his followers, with small distinguishing flags, so as to enable his majesty to know whose fire-works succeeded best. They began with those of the lowest rank; and, when one set was finished, the party to whom they belonged brought the remains of the cases with their flags and music, and danced before his majesty, who, I understand, on these occasions gives them some trifling presents, as marks of his royal favour. These fire-works are exhibited by day, for fear of

accidents, yet, notwithstanding, many are scorched and wounded by sudden explosions, and the falling of fiery fragments: on the whole, it is a rude, barbarous, and insipid exhibition; a waste of labour and materials, unaided by any efforts of ingenuity, and unrelieved by variety, so necessary to satisfy the fastidiousness of European criticism. Unwilling, however, to offend their vanity, I remained an attentive spectator, till near sun-set, but paid severely for my politeness, being seized with a violent bilious fit by the time I reached the boat, which obliged me to retire to bed immediately when I got home, and has shook me very much. It has, however, afforded me a sufficient apology for not returning again the next day, as I was pressed to do, which I had previously determined against, as no person of rank had attended or received me. While sitting in the shade, the Prince of Tonghoo passed on horseback: as none of the natives took any notice of him, and I knew it was not customary, I followed their example.

*March 4.* I was much indisposed during the whole of the morning, from yesterday's attack. In the afternoon I tried the still, and made a quantity of alcohol for the balloons. I tried two small ones in the evening, but they failed owing to the badness of the paper, and I fear we shall have much difficulty in succeeding

from the bad quality of our materials. I am informed forty deserters from the northern army, and seventeen thieves, are to be burnt in some of the wheels to-morrow.

*March 5.* To-day the mayhoon of Hunza-wuddy's fire-works were exhibited; I understood all the wheels, to the number of 500, failed; to-morrow the princes of the blood exhibit theirs, and the day after the king's will be exhibited, which closes the festival. I still feel very unwell, the extreme heat, my confined situation, and anxiety for the termination of my public business, combine to render my stay here irksome; but I have no remedy but patience and temperance, which I trust will bear me out.

Thermometer at present is  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Morn. } 74^{\circ}. \\ \text{Noon } 84. \\ \text{Even. } 93. \end{array} \right.$

*March 8.* I understand the festival will continue to the 9th instant. We amused ourselves in distilling spirits of wine, and preparing materials for the balloons; but the materials within our reach, are so very bad, and the air so rarefied that I almost doubt our success with a mont-golfier.

*March 9.* The rayhoon being lame, I have not seen him for some days past, but he sent to request to know when I would visit the princes of the blood. I returned for answer that I was ready to go whenever it suited his excellency

the mayhoon's convenience to introduce me. I hear from various quarters that his majesty is to set off in a few days to join the army going to Vizalley. The great pains which are taken to impress me with this belief, expose the motive, and necessarily tend to produce an effect on my mind the reverse of what their great sagacity expects.

*March 10.* A good deal of rain has fallen at Amarapoorah and up the country, which has caused the river to rise, and in the afternoon we had some slight showers with thunder in our neighbourhood, and some sharp squalls from the N.W., which has cooled the air very much. In the evening Mr. Jhansey returned my packet of letters, saying his despatch-boat had been detained by the viceroy. I also learn that his excellency will not go with me to the princes, and that he has not laid my memorial before his majesty. I intend, therefore, to send Mr. Burnett in the morning to obtain his excellency's final determination on these points.

*March 11.* About eight A.M., the rayhoon called at my bungalow; he informed me that the mayhoon was gone to Amarapoorah with the Enga Tekaing, whom the king had sent to take charge of the government of the city during his absence. He said he was going to the palace to settle about the coins I had brought for his ma-



jesty, and took Mr. Moncourtuse with him. At noon the prince of Bassim's family paohen\*, with several gilt-boats, and war-boats, passed by to the northward, said to be going to join the army going to Vizalley. I observe also that the fly of the king's large tent is struck. About two P.M., the rayhoon and Mr. Moncourtuse returned from the palace; he informed me that his majesty had ordered the rupees to be assayed, and found that one kind was fifteen per cent. worse than pure silver, and the other ten per cent. (this, by-the-by, proves what excellent metallurgists they are, for one kind has in fact seventeen per cent. alloy, and the other twenty-two and a half per cent.) and that, as it was his royal intention, that none but pure silver should pass current in his dominions, he had therefore ordered the 20,000 rupees to be returned to me. I expressed my astonishment in unequivocal terms at this determination, and told the rayhoon his majesty was very ill advised in adopting such measures; that the rupees were coined at the request of his ministers, and were exactly of the quality and pattern of those sent by Captain Symes to Calcutta; that no charge had been made on the coinage except for the incidental expenses of labour, &c., which, including the value of the alloy, did not amount to 350 ticals;

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\* A kind of accommodation-boat.

so that if his majesty was to melt them down, he could not lose more than 400 ticals at the utmost; but that loss or gain was entirely out of the question: that the Honourable the Governor-General had directed them to be coined merely to oblige his majesty, without any view to benefit or gain on his part: that, on the contrary, he had incurred the risk of the seas and enemies in sending them without any charge to his majesty; he had besides presented him with a valuable set of coining implements, and various other valuable presents, and was not to be treated like a trader on whose hands goods might be thrown at the caprice of the purchaser. That for my part, it was utterly out of my power to receive back the money, as by so doing I should be consenting to a gross indignity offered to the Honourable the Governor-General, who had deputed me. About this time a gilt war-boat arrived with the king's treasurer, an illegitimate son of his majesty, who had brought with him the four boxes of rupees, and money to pay for the copper. I desired him to be seated, but would not permit them to deliver the boxes of silver, or receive the value of the copper. The boxes, therefore, were laid down at the gate of the enclosures of the bungalow. What I had told the rayhoon, I made the interpreter repeat to the treasurer, who assured me he would inform his majesty of my sentiments and feelings

on the occasion. I then entertained him with tea and sweetmeats, and presented him with a piece of flowered muslin, and a piece of choppah romal. On leaving my bungalow he again assured me he would faithfully tell his majesty all he had heard and seen. The rayhoon and interpreter betrayed evident marks of fear and astonishment at my decided conduct; and I trust it will be a useful lesson to them not to trifle with me another time. The rayhoon staid dinner with me, when we had a long conversation respecting my interview with the whoonghees, and all the old arguments on both sides renewed. He said he was certain it could never take place on my terms, and I as peremptorily assured him it should never take place on any other. He then said, the mayhoon had been twice to see me, and I had never returned his visit. I told him that he and the mayhoon well knew my heart was with his excellency, and that it was my wish to be often with him; but that it did not depend on me; that I waited his majesty's orders for the regulation of my conduct, as I was determined not to betray myself into any error, by acting from my own deficient judgment in matters of etiquette; which amongst them were matters of high importance. I then asked him if he would assure me, that if I visited the mayhoon, it would be no impediment to my interview on my own terms with the whoonghees; and

desired him to say candidly whether he could with propriety advise me to run that risk. He desired time to consider, and after some reflection said, he would not advise me to it, but recommended my sending Mr. Burnett early to obtain the mayhoon's final answer respecting the delivery of my memorial; he then placed some of his own people to watch the boxes of rupees and retired.

*March 12.* The river continues to rise, and is now within two feet of the level of my bungalow. I sent Mr. Burnett with the interpreters to the mayhoon with a written message; the rayhoon's people also carried over the rupees to him. When Mr. Burnett arrived at the mayhoon's house, he found him engaged in some religious ceremonies respecting a deceased relation; among the visitors was the queen mother. These lasted upwards of an hour, when the mayhoon came to him. He received him with much affability, and was much pleased with some trifling presents I had sent for his children. Mr. Burnett then proceeded to deliver my message, which was first to ask, whether his excellency had presented my memorial to his majesty. He replied, he had not; that had it been proper he would have presented it long since. Mr. Burnett then asked, if he declined presenting it? After considerable hesitation, he said that he should be very happy to comply with my wishes in every thing, but



that it really was out of his power to present the memorial. Mr. Burnett then said, he had my orders to request the favour of his excellency to return the memorial, if he still declined presenting it, as it was absolutely necessary, his majesty should be acquainted with my sentiments; but that I earnestly entreated his excellency to reflect before he returned it, as it was my wish to be guided in all things by his excellency's opinion, and that all my business should be conducted through him, that both nations might owe to him, all the advantages that must arise from their perfect union; but that there were some points out of my power to cede, and that my interview, with the whoonghees on equal terms, was perhaps the only one that would occur. Mr. Burnett informed me that it was upwards of an hour before he came to a determination, seemingly weighing the matter seriously within his own mind; at length he told him, he must return the memorial, as he really could not risk the presenting it. When the rayhoon brought him the rupees, and told him what had passed at my house on that subject, he said, the Resident is very right; I wrote to the Governor-General for them, they were sent to oblige me, and I will be answerable for the amount. His brother, who was present, asked him to let him have 5,000 of them. "No," said he, "no one shall have them; I know what to do

with them." Mr. Burnett then told him, I requested he would do me the favour to apply to his majesty for boats suitable to my rank, that I might put my baggage on board preparatory to my departure for Rangoon, as the river was rising fast, and I was apprehensive that my bungalow might be swept away by the flood. He recommended my putting my baggage on board of the boats in which I came up the river for the present, and that he would take care to have others provided as soon as possible. When Mr. Burnett returned, I had all my heavy baggage put on board the boats, the river continuing to rise. In the evening Mr. Moncourtuse, the interpreter, went to the court side of the river, as I suppose to report what had passed to the whoonghees, but whether sent for I know not. He did not return till past twelve at night. The mayhoon also said to Mr. Burnett, it was unnecessary to wait on the princes, as they were all busy preparing to go to Vizalley, but that I might send any presents I had for them, and might see the Enga Tekaing when I went to Amarapoorah.

March 13. In the morning the rayhoon called on me, when we had a private conference, and he offered, with my permission, to go and lay my demands before his majesty; he requested me, however, to give him as a present for his majesty, a handsome cut-glass casket, mounted with silver, also, my silver *pawn daun* and salver,

and *ottah daun*, which I the more readily complied with, as it proved my readiness to oblige them with any thing in my power: he promised to return and dine with me. Mr. Moncourtuse did not inform me where he had been last night, or who he had seen; nor did I take any notice of his being absent; I imagine he is restricted in his communications, and I do not think it proper to give him any reason to suppose his motions or conferences are of any importance to me. The rayhoon returned about three o'clock, but, having retired to my room, and he having nothing satisfactory to communicate, would not permit my people to call me, promising to call again in the evening. He, however, told Mr. Burnett, that a council had been held at the palace, and their records searched for a precedent to satisfy me, but that none had been found.

*March 15.* In the morning I sent my interpreter, Mr. Rowland, with a written message to the mayhoon; but with orders not to deliver it, unless his excellency would favour him with a private audience. He found a great crowd at his house, and he seemed rather displeased, but desired Mr. Rowland to come again in the evening. During the morning, the rayhoon's wife and another woman with her, came to pay me a visit; I was too unwell to receive them, but had them entertained with tea and sweetmeats, and presented them with two pieces

of flowered muslin on retiring. Sometime afterwards the rayhoon called, he had little satisfactory to communicate, and I did not think proper to condescend to ask, how the presents he had extorted from me had been received by the king. In the course of conversation he gave me to understand that, if I wanted boats, I must buy them myself. I did not disguise my sentiments, of the meanness of their conduct throughout; ever ready to beg and receive, but without the smallest inclination to make any return; and gave him fully to understand, that I was dissatisfied and disgusted with their conduct. I told him of my intention to send a message to the mayhoon in the evening, and requested he would have a boat sent to take Mr. Burnett over, as the one his excellency had formerly lent me had been withdrawn. He wanted me to put off the business to another day; I told him the business was too urgent to admit of it. Sometime after he had retired, the mayhoon sent me a letter, informing me, that he had given orders to the Rangoon government, to pay me the amount value for the silver and copper coins; that his majesty had given all the orders respecting me, according to the Governor-General's letter; that they lay ready at the looto for me, and would be delivered whenever I choose to go for them; and that he should be happy to lay before his majesty any further wishes I might



have to communicate. I prepared the following message in reply, that I should want the money here to defray my expenses ; that, as to what his excellency was pleased to say respecting his majesty's orders in conformity with the Governor-General's letter, I was at a loss to understand it, as the principal point urged in that letter, of my being received with the respect and attention due to me, had in no respect been attended to ; on the contrary, I was sorry to say, I had been treated with neglect and insult ; that, regarding his excellency's kind offer, to lay before his majesty any other business I might have, I was sorry I could not avail myself of it, as it was not customary with us to expose ourselves unnecessarily to mortification ; that I had already wrote one memorial to the whoonghees, and another to his excellency, to neither of which the least attention had been paid ; and that until they were answered, I should risk no more public letters. I also added, that I much feared the pretended ambassadors from Vizalley had deceived his majesty ; that the country they called Vizalley, was, in fact, Assam ; that I knew the money the king sent me to look at, were Assam coins ; that the map was also the same as one I had seen from Assam ; and that, according to the various accounts of the situation of the country, Vizalley was but another name for Ghergong, the capital of Assam, which country was tributary to the

English, and under their protection; that it was not more than three years since our troops had settled the country, and placed the present rajah on the throne; and, if my apprehensions were just, I much feared, that if the Burmhan troops invaded Assam, it would be the cause of a war between the English and Burhman nations, which it was my duty, and the duty of every lover of this country, to endeavour to prevent. I, therefore, entreated of his excellency, to lay my doubts before his majesty, and permit me to examine the pretended ambassadors from Vizalley, as by that means the evils so much to be dreaded might be prevented; for, the sword once drawn, none could say when the mischief would stop: also, that my doubts of the sincerity of the Burmhan friendship towards the English were increased by the manner in which I had been treated since my arrival, and the unwillingness of his majesty's ministers to shew me that respect and attention which my station demanded; that I had done every thing in my power to deserve better usage, and now only waited his excellency's providing me with boats to begone; that if I had remained, his excellency would have found me a firm friend; that I had a proposal to have made, that would have yielded his majesty and all the royal family a great revenue, and made *him* the richest subject in his majesty's dominions; but

these hopes were now all at an end; I could not but lament it, but the fault was not mine.

At eight o'clock the boat came, when Mr. Burnett, attended by Mr. Rowland, only went over. At one in the morning he returned; he informed me the mayhoon received him kindly, and with far more privacy gave him an audience in his boat, and listened to my message with great attention. He confessed it was possible Vizalley might be Assam; that he considered himself much obliged to me for my candid explanation—acknowledged the truth of all I had advanced, and promised to lay my representation before his majesty; in short, this message seems to have produced a complete revolution in his mind, for he desired Mr. Burnett to tell me, that if I would draw up the memorial a little softened, he would undertake to deliver it to his majesty, and would use all his influence to promote my wishes. He then introduced a desultory conversation on various topics, which he seemed to take great pleasure in prolonging, which occasioned Mr. Burnett's remaining to so late an hour. When about to leave him, he desired him to call with the memorial next evening, and to desire of me to consider of some proposals which might be of advantage to his majesty's dominions, as it would enable him to plead for me with more confidence, as he had enemies who might attribute his urging con-

cessions in my favour without an equivalent, as proceeding from sinister motives.

*March 16.* In the morning the queen's whoon came with a present from the first queen of four elephants' teeth, a piece of silk, and a sapphire ring from the second queen worth about thirty tecals; I treated him, and gave him a present. Shortly after the rayhoon paid me a visit, and seemed much pleased at the favourable turn of affairs. In the course of the day I prepared the memorial, retaining all the material points, and adding a *preordium*, that I thought would be conciliatory. I also drew up a rough sketch of a proposal for raising a revenue from salt, balatchong, and betel-nut, to be placed under the management of the mayhoon and myself.

At six o'clock precisely the boat arrived, and Mr. Burnett, attended by Mr. Rowland, went over the river with them to the mayhoon. He received him in the boat, as before, with the greatest affability, and even desired the rayhoon to withdraw, that he might be more private. He seemed highly pleased with the memorial in its altered state; as to the proposals, his expressions respecting it shewed utter astonishment, at the same time no disbelief; as he said he was convinced many things were easily possible to me, which to him were inconceivable; he summed up the whole of his comments with manifesting the highest satisfaction and pleasure, saying, that he



had never spent two nights with so much gratification. At half-past ten o'clock Mr. Burnett returned. He desired Mr. Burnett to return next day, with Mr. Moncourtuse, to translate the papers, as he wished to have Burmhan copies. The prince of Prone, I understand, left Mheghoon to-day to join the camp.

*March 17.* In the morning I sent Mr. Burnett and Messrs. Moncourtuse and Rowland, and had the memorial copied in Burmhan for his excellency's satisfaction. At noon, his excellency carried the memorial to the palace. I learn that his majesty has relinquished his intention of joining the army, and that the rajah of Bornoo has been confined on suspicion of having imposed on him in the affair of the Chinese ambassadors he introduced at court last year.

*March 18.* His majesty set off about eight A.M., in the smallest of his boats of state, accompanied by eleven boats of his queens and concubines, eighteen covered boats belonging to his ministers and courtiers, and about seventy war-boats; several of them gilt, including those that towed his own, the queens', and ministers' boats. Each on an average might contain about fifty men. On shore he proceeded with twenty-nine elephants, with different kinds of howdahs on them, followed by his body-guard filing off promiscuously, dressed in the common habit of the country, with two bundles, and their muskets

lashed to them, carried by each on a bamboo. About one o'clock the new carriage followed his majesty in a boat, towed by two war-boats; after it a boat of horses, and behind these his former state-carriage. At nine o'clock the rayhoon came, and said he was sent by his majesty to inquire after my health, and to inform me that he was going to a place about nine miles distant to perform some religious ceremonies; after that, somewhat further, to inspect the state of the Vizalley army, as also to cut firewood to make bricks for his new pagoda; that he had held a consultation with his whoonghees respecting the propositions contained in my memorial, and that they had acknowledged the justice and propriety of my demands; but alleged the ill state of my health, and inconvenient situation, either to make or receive visits, as a reason for postponing the business for the present; therefore they recommended that proper boats should be provided for my going to Rangoon, and that the adjustment of the ceremonials of my interview with them should be deferred to a more favourable opportunity; and that he waited for my answer to his majesty. I desired him to make my acknowledgments to his majesty for his kind inquiries and solicitude for my health; at the same time hoped that he would not suppose, for a moment, that I would permit health or personal convenience to interfere

with my public duty ; that it would be better for me to die, than that the interests of my country, or his majesty, should suffer through any delay of mine. I should, therefore, hold myself in readiness to meet his majesty's ministers at whatever time or place he might be pleased to appoint ; that I by no means saw the force of the whoongee's objections, as to the want of a proper place to receive me in ; that his majesty had already honoured me with an audience at a temporary residence, and so might they ; that it was not the place that dignified the man, or gave consequence to his mission ; that it was all the same to me whether I met them in a palace, or under the shade of a tree ; that in about six days I hoped to be sufficiently strong to move about, and would then be ready to attend his majesty's commands. A desultory conversation then took place, from which I gathered, that the rayhoon had been sent to sound me, and to learn whether the state of my health had effected any change in my mind ; but, I trust, he had no reason to flatter himself with any discovery detrimental to the interests of my mission ; for he concluded with saying, he found me always the same, and should faithfully report all I had said to his majesty, whose eyes began to be opened, and wished for some private conversation with me.

*March 19.* At night the rayhoon returned

turned from his majesty, and informed me he had faithfully detailed all I had said, and that his majesty had been graciously pleased to order that all my wishes respecting the interview with the whoonghees should be complied with; that the mhee whoonghee, in consequence, would come down the river to-morrow for that purpose. That his majesty had been pleased to add many other particulars highly gratifying; among the number, that he was sorry to hear that any of his subjects had given encouragement to the enemies of the English; that it was entirely without his knowledge; that he had ordered, that all those who had been assisting the French prize, now at Bassein, should be sent immediately to court, to answer for their conduct; and should give such strict orders to the governors of all his ports, as to prevent any thing of the kind happening again. He had severely reprimanded Jhansey the shambunder for disguising these things from him, and encouraging the French; and had ordered the mayhoon to apprehend all the vagabond French in his government, that they might be sent out of the country; that, after the interview, it was his majesty's wish that I should communicate my public business to the whoonghee, who would lay it before him; and that, when all was finished, he would write a public letter to the Governor-General, and another to his Britannic Majesty;



that he should also write a private letter to the Governor-General, to request a particular favour of him, which request he hoped I would back with all the influence in my power. The request was, to endeavour to obtain for him, from the king of Candy, one of the teeth of the Burmhan law-giver and demi-god, supposed to be deposited in the principal pagoda of Ceylon. He desired me to inform him, if there was any thing in his dominions which would be acceptable to the Governor-General or to myself; that, unless I did so, he should not look upon me as a sincere friend; that I might live where I pleased; if at Amarapoorah, he would purchase the best brick house there, of Mr. Agusar, an Armenian merchant; or, if at Rangoon, the house I then rented. He also condescended to ask particularly after my health, expressing his concern for my indisposition, and requesting that I would take particular care of myself; and rebuked his ministers for their inattention to me hitherto; to all which, of course, I made suitable replies. The rayhoon then mentioned to me, that his majesty had expressed a wish to have one of my tents, and had ordered the mayhoon to give me as much canvass and purpet in return, as would make me another. I told him, as to return, it was entirely out of the question, and that I was happy in any opportunity of obliging his majesty.

*March 20th.* In the morning the rayhoon came for the tent, and the mayhoon sent two war-boats to convey it, and the Calassies\* who were sent to erect it. Mr. Moncourtuse went with it. About five in the evening Mr. Moncourtuse and the Calassies returned; he informed me that they had been about 10 miles up the river, that the tent had been pitched. His majesty had entered and seen it, and was much pleased with it.

*March 21st.* About seven in the morning, the rayhoon came to my bungalow, and informed me that the pohoun and war-boats were in attendance to convey me to the place of interview; unwell as I was I determined to go. At about half-past nine I left my bungalow: I was obliged to be carried in a chair to the boat. The pohoun was rowed by forty-two men; and the viceroy had sent five war-boats to do me honour on this occasion. The boat pulled over to the Mheghoon side, and I was carried from the boat to the building erected for the place of interview. The rayhoon and some of the whoonghee's officers attended me from the water-side; I had also with me Mr. Burnett, the two interpreters, and my or-

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\* Men who are in the habit of pitching tents. There are a certain number attached to each regiment in India.

dinary retinue. A great number of war-boats had been assembled on this occasion, several of them gilt, with small guns, two or three pounders, on black carriages, lashed on their prows. The building erected for the occasion was a spacious shed of bamboo and thatch, with a platform about eighteen inches from the surface of the sand, and two smaller platforms of equal height and dimensions, about one foot higher than the common platform, in a direction east and west from each other, and distant about fourteen feet. These platforms were screened from one another by two curtains of silk brocade; they had canopies over hem of cloth, and their floor covered with carpets; the intervening space with mats. Previous to my disembarking from the boat, I inquired if the whoonghee had arrived; I was informed that he was already at the place of rendezvous. I advanced to the bungalow from the north, through a double avenue of troops, extending from it about 300 yards; they were drawn up in rank entire, the two outer ranks musketeers, squatting on the earth, with their muskets by them; at the head of these two ranks were two small pieces of cannon on field-carriages, and to the left, at some distance, there were four more pieces on carriages. The two centre ranks were spearmen, squatting on the ground, with their spears planted erect; the shafts of the spears covered

with silver plate, and the heads ornamented with a bunch of red cow-tail. All these people were in the common garb of the country. When I had arrived at the head of the avenue, one of the whoonghee's officers, in a black jacket trimmed with gold lace, very officiously wanted to disarm my servants and orderlies, although it had been agreed on before, that I might take all my guard with their muskets; this, however, I would not permit. We advanced without further interruption; my chair was carried within the veranda of the shed: when I ascended the first platform I put off my shoes, and was conducted from thence to the western interior platform; two of my chairs were then brought, one was carried to the whoonghee, and in the other I seated myself, supported by pillows, with my face fronting the east. Mr. Burnett, the rayhoon, and the other officers, were seated on mats on the lower platform, I alone remaining on the elevated one; on my side the curtains were then drawn up, and discovered to me the whoonghee sitting above on the eastern platform, fronting me, the various official insignia of his office being arranged on the platform to his right, and the officers of his establishment in their dresses of state, seated, as those on my side, on the lower platform. The whoonghee was dressed in a close jacket of pale blue, flowered damask, with silver sprigs; on his



shoulders was a black velvet mantle, edged with broad gold lace, and flowered with gold embroidery; on his head, a pyramidal cap; a silk lungee red and white, and a Burmhan sword with gold scabbard and hilt in his hand. After viewing one another for a few minutes, we arose together; descending from our platforms, met each other half way in the intermediate space, and shook hands; I then addressed him with a compliment expressive of the happiness I felt on this occasion, which he returned; after two or three compliments passed suitable to the occasion, we retired, and seated ourselves on our respective platforms.

The rayhoon had been very urgent with me to make some small present to the whoonghee at our meeting. I told him I had no intention to take any thing; but, to gratify them, if the whoonghee would present me with a pawn of betel, I would, at the same time, offer him some trifle; accordingly, when I returned to my chair, I gave Mr. Moncourtuse, the interpreter, an English guinea, to be delivered to his excellency, with the following message (the pawn of betel at the same time was sent across to me), that I accepted from his excellency the pawn of betel, as a token of amity between the English and Burmhan nations; that, on my part, I returned him an English guinea impressed with the image of his Britannic Majesty, emblematic of the wealth and

happiness which I trusted would flow from our union. His excellency returned for answer, that he understood what I said, but that it was happiness and not wealth his majesty wished for his subjects; he then pocketed my guinea. I replied, that I spoke of riches in a figurative sense only; that, as gold was the purest and most durable of all metals, so a sincere friend, such as I trusted the English nation would prove, was superior to all other wealth. Several personal and general compliments were then interchanged to the apparent satisfaction of both parties. In particular, I must mention the whoonghee's expressing his agreeable surprise at finding me so affable, as he had been taught to believe I was a man of a very different description; he then asked, if it would be agreeable to me to visit him next day: being answered in the affirmative, he said, if agreeable, he would return my visit in the evening of the same day, as business made it necessary for him to return as soon as possible to his majesty. To this proposal I readily assented. He then said, as I was so unwell, he would not be the means of detaining me longer; requested I would retire, and begged of me to be careful of my health, in which he was pleased to say, I ought to remember, two nations now were interested. The music and dancers then began to exhibit, and I retired as I came, leaving him

still seated in the shed. When I had got on board my boat, the rayhoon requested of me to wait a little to see the whoonghee go to his house in all his state; he walked from the shed in the centre of the troops, which had formed the avenues; they filed off to the westward, marching in the same order in which they were seated, in Indian files, two to his right and two to his left; he was attended by a large retinue of the officers and servants of his establishment, carrying his gilt chattré, gilt war-hat, gold pawn dawn, goght, &c., and a number of led horses brought up the rear. The whoonghee seemed to be very well pleased with the interview. He is a thin swarthy man, rather above the middle stature, with harsh Tartarian features, and apparently about fifty years of age. If he was deceived as to the reports of me, I was equally so in respect to him, for I discovered in him neither hauteur, particular dignity, or promise of sagacity. I am told, however, that he has the reputation of being a good general, an intrepid soldier, and an able minister. Altogether, I suppose, I was about an hour in the bungalow; at about half-past twelve got back to my own quarters, much fatigued.

At four P.M. (my dinner hour), the whoonghee's woondock came to my bungalow to inquire after my health; I had tea and refreshments prepared for him in another room, and, after I had finished

my dinner, went to him; a principal part of his errand was, to learn how I was satisfied with my interview, as he had a writer with him to note down my answers. He took particular pains to impress me with a high sense of the great honour which had been conferred on me, informing me that there was no precedent for it in the annals of the Burmhan history (this the whoonghee had told me during the time of our interview). He asked me the ages of his Britannic Majesty and family, and the state of the kingdom; the age of the Governor-General, and many other questions to the same effect; and, after having gratified his curiosity, he took his leave.

*March 22.* Early in the morning the same boats that waited upon me yesterday with attendants, came over to the island, and, at nine o'clock, I set off with the same retinue as before: I was carried up in my chair to the whoonghee's house, situated about 300 yards from the water on the Mheghoon side, and then through the yard of the compound, where the troops were arranged, to the ladder, where I was received by the whoonghee's woondock, and other officers. At the top of the ladder I took off my shoes, and was conducted through an open court on the platform, to a room fronting the north prepared for my reception; on the east side of this room, a chair was placed for me,



where I was seated with my face fronting the west; Mr. Burnett was seated on the carpet close to me; the interpreters, moonshee and others, attendant, a little to his right; close to my left was the partition of the apartment, and against it, about four yards to the westward, a chair was placed for the whoonghee, fronting the north, which made my seat at his right hand: immediately in front of him were arranged the presents intended for me; between them and me, but a little further north was the woondock seated on the floor; on the west side of the room and in the open court, were arranged the rest of his officers and retinue. After I had been seated about two minutes, the whoonghee came out from a room to the south of the one I was in; I arose from my chair, and we advanced to meet each other, shook hands, and then retired to our chairs. I had been asked by the rayhoon if I wished to see the whoonghee's wives, and I replied in the affirmative, and they came out and seated themselves on the whoonghee's left; mutual compliments were exchanged. He put the same questions to me respecting His Britannic Majesty, &c., as had been made by his woondock the day before; but in particular inquired whether England enjoyed internal peace, or if any change had been made in its laws; and again gave me to understand that I had been misrepresented to him, and how agreeably he

was undeceived ; which confirmed what I already pretty well knew, that great pains had been taken to prejudice my nation and self to the Burmhan court, but I trust these clouds were now all dissipated, and told him so. He replied, that in future the Burmhan and English nations would be as one. Tea and refreshments were then introduced on gilt trays, and betel boxes were placed before me, such as were only used by the royal family and himself. He was this day dressed in a light coloured velvet robe covered with embroidery, with a fillet handkerchief of gold cloth round his head. He unbent considerably, was very affable and polite in their way, and made me many tenders of his friendship and best services ; during the taking the refreshments we had a good deal of conversation on various subjects. He then ordered one of the large lacquered boxes in which they send presents to be placed before me, and desired I might be informed it was of a particular manufacture made for himself, and that none like it could be obtained for any money. He then said, that, as through his majesty's favour I had received such strong proofs of their friendship, I must occasionally dress like a Burmhan, as I was one in my heart, and that he had prepared cloths for me for that purpose, pointing to those before him ; he then made a present of a silk lungee to the rayhoon, a piece of inferior

kind to the king's translator Mr. Moncourtuse, and a piece to each of the king's linguists who attended, of the same kind. He then asked me what I meant to do, whether I would wait at Amarapoorah till the king returned, or proceed to Rangoon. I told him I should wait his majesty's instructions on that head, but I was ready to attend him to any part of his dominions where he might go, or wait till his return at Amarapoorah; but as to returning to Rangoon before my business was settled, I could not consistent with my duty. He then said, if I had any memorial to present to his majesty, and would send a person with the rayhoon to him up the river, he would take care to get it settled. I then rose to take my leave, and he said, he would call upon me about four o'clock in the evening, and I retired in the same manner I came. I forgot to mention that there was music and dancers in an adjoining room, and shortly after the whoonghee came out he desired all my servants might be admitted. The room of audience was level and covered with carpets, and hung round with silk brocade screens. The presents for me were carried by his officers on board the war-boats that attended me, they consisted of three horses, a set of lacquered boxes for carrying presents, a set of ditto betel boxes, five silk lungees, and 100 pieces of common blue and white Burmhan cotton, and two silk wrappers. My

visit occupied altogether nearly two hours, and as soon as I returned, I immediately prepared for his reception. By the assistance of the rayhoon, I had a room, fourteen feet by thirty-two, raised about eight inches from the sand, and platformed with planks, and verandas all round, the ceiling was made of broad cloth of my own, and the rayhoon procured for me curtains of party-coloured cloth to go round the sides; the floor was covered with Settringies \*; a large table in the centre was covered with cakes and sweetmeats, and the presents I intended for him arranged on the floor: maps were hung round the room; globes, and various mathematical instruments were arranged along the sides for inspection; I had also procured dancers and country music. About one o'clock his musketeers and spearmen came over and formed a double avenue from my bungalow to the water-side; I had my guard drawn up fronting the door of the room. About two P. M., he came over in his own war-boat, attended by two gilt and several other war-boats. When he landed he was preceded by his sword-bearer, dressed in a red velvet gown, silk lungee, a large broad-brimmed white hat, with a large Burmhan sword on his shoulder, the scabbard black, ornamented with gold fillagree work, the handle grasped in both his hands; and he advanced with

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\* Striped cotton carpets manufactured in India.



a swaggering kind of antic step. The whoonghee was dressed in a green velvet robe richly embroidered with gold, fillet handkerchief on his head, the same as in the morning, and over it a large broad-brimmed French black hat edged with scalloped French gold lace, a silk lungee, with Burmhan sandals on his feet; over his head was carried a large gilt chatta, and his retinue following with the various insignia of his office and rank, dressed in their state coats. As he passed, my guard presented their arms when he came to the edge of the platform, he took off his sandals, as a compliment; I did not wear my shoes. I received him when he ascended the platform; we then shook hands, and I led him to a chair placed at the north end of the room; then seated myself in a chair on the eastern side, about three yards from him, so that he was on my right hand; every one else were seated on the floor. Compliments were then interchanged, and when he had been seated sometime he took off his hat, which seemed to be a great incumbrance to him. After some conversation, I offered him tea and refreshments, which he accepted; I then asked him if he wished to see any of our instruments, and he assenting, I shewed him the globes, and described their use, a clock, microscope, telescope, camera obscura, &c. He was pleased with every thing, but in particular with the camera, which was fitted to shew views of London,

&c. He said that *Gurruva*, meaning the rayhoon of Rangoon, had told them a number of stories in favour of me which he hardly knew how to credit, but that he now saw he had spoke the truth. He now began to be very familiar and chatty, and seemed happy to throw off the restraint of formality, to which I of course encouraged him. He called his officers and servants about him, and shewed them the camera, making many pertinent remarks on the objects displayed. He said that his majesty had many curious things in his palace, but nothing like the camera; and expressed a wish that I would present it to his majesty. He afterwards said he wished I would give it him, to present to his majesty. I told him that and every thing else I had was at his service, and that I should send it to him with pleasure. I then sent for a case of gold-mounted pistols, and desired the interpreter to tell him, that I came here a stranger unacquainted with their manners, and unprovided with any thing worthy the acceptance of so great a man as him; however I trusted he would accept the pistols I had in my hands, as a mark of my friendship and respect, that it was a soldier's gift; they were my own pistols, I had proved them, and knew them to be good, and hoped he would keep them for my sake: he accepted them with much satisfaction, and gave them to one of his relations to take care

of. He then made the sword-bearers bring him several of his swords; he chose out one, and presented it to me with his own hands. The scabbard and hilt were plated with gold; and as he presented it, he said the gold is pure and weighed twenty-five ticals, but he did not mention the gold to enhance its value; it was to be valued for the temper of the blade, which he had proved on numbers of the enemies of his country. He said it was to be further valued, as it was the first sword of the kind he had been allowed to carry; and, that no other subject in the Burmhan dominions was allowed to carry such a sword. But I might carry it, and if any one asked me by what authority I did so, I should say the mhee whoonghee had given it me. He desired I would keep it for his sake, and transmit it to my son, to remain in my family as a memento of his friendship. Of course I made suitable acknowledgments for this very strong mark of his attention. During this conversation, his officers were employed in regaling themselves with tea and coffee, and demolishing the cakes and sweetmeats, which they completely finished. After some pause, he introduced a request he had to make in the following discourse: He said that there were a number of bad people at Mergin, whose tricks he had found out, and had ordered a number to be put to death a few days ago.

His majesty, he said, has intrusted me with the power of life and death, so that it is unnecessary for me to report to him a criminal whom I have condemned. I observed that the end of all government was the security and happiness of the people, but that it would be impossible to preserve harmony without the inflexible administration of justice. "You see," said he, "that I am a great man, invested with great power, and acknowledged first subject in his Burmhan majesty's dominions: yet me has his majesty sent a considerable journey down the river to receive and visit you according to your wish. Hence is proved how high a regard his majesty has for the English nation. His Burmhan majesty neither wants gold or jewels, or any kind of riches, but there is one thing which he prizes above all earthly treasures, and which he hopes to obtain through the friendship of the Governor-General; you must therefore promise me to use all your influence with him that his majesty's wishes may be gratified. Some years ago his majesty sent messengers to the king of Candy, to endeavour to obtain the tooth of Gaudema which is deposited in the principal pagoda of Ceylon. The king of Candy returned him for answer, that he was prevented from sending it by the disturbances between the Dutch and English; but he has since written to his Burmhan majesty, that the English have conquered all the



Dutch settlements of Ceylon, and that he is ready to send the tooth by the first safe opportunity. Now his majesty is determined to send Gunneva, the governor of Rangoon, as his ambassador to Calcutta, and he wishes that you should send some person with him and write to the Governor-General, so that he may be properly received, and have every assistance towards attaining this tooth. I told him, that it was a rule with us never to promise what we were not sure of being able to perform; that the king of Candy, although our good ally, was an independent prince; it therefore depended solely on him to grant his Burmhan majesty's request: I however made no doubt that the Governor-General would support that request as far as was consistent with the respect due to an independent sovereign. That as to the reception of his majesty's ambassador at Calcutta they might rest assured, the Governor-General would be happy in the opportunity to shew his respect for his majesty, and his friendship for the Burmhan nation. He said he had wrote to his son, who was at Amarapoorah, to come up and accompany him in this visit, but that he had been unable to come on account of his duty which required his attendance at the court of the Enga Tekaing; but that he would leave me a letter directing him to provide me with a boat proper for a person of my rank and every thing else I might

require ; and again requested of me not to hesitate applying to him for any thing I might want, as I might rest assured of his friendship, and of his readiness to serve me on all occasions. About half-past four he retired, seemingly much pleased with his entertainment. I sent after him in the viceroy's boat, the following presents, the camera obscura, a dress of cloth of two colours, scarlet and blue ; a dress of scarlet cloth, a dress of white, three pieces of plain muslin for his wives ; a large vase of white flint cut glass, two canisters of fine gunpowder, some tea, a bundle of spices, a bottle of rose-water, and a bottle of otta ; and for his suite, nine pieces of cachedas, ten pieces of sannahs, twenty-three pieces of choppa romals, and three sets of betel glasses. Half-an-hour afterwards he sent back a message, saying, as he was going to camp, he would be much obliged to me to give him a tent, and one of my large sytringies ; which request I immediately complied with, and sent them after him by one of his relations, to whom I also gave a piece of sannahs. Yesterday the rayhoon asked me, if I would go and see the mayhoon ? I replied, certainly, immediately after receiving the whoonghee's visit. This evening he told me he had received a message from the mayhoon, requesting I would postpone my visit till we should meet at Rangoon, as he had positive orders from his

majesty to set off for Amarapoorah next day. I desired he would make my best respects to the mayhoon, and say, that I positively must see him before he left Mheeghoon; that I had been here so long without that happiness, and every day receiving favours from him, that I could not bear the idea of his going away without my paying my respects to him. I sent Mr. Moncourtuse with the rayhoon to learn his excellency's sentiments. They had first to go to the whoonghee's, and luckily met the mayhoon there. When the whoonghee heard my message to the mayhoon, he said to him, "Oh, you must stay to receive the Resident. Here the king has sent me down the river to visit him, and when he wants to pay you a compliment, you are going to run away. The difference of a day in your departure cannot injure the public business." This was spoke in a good-natured, rallying way. The mayhoon replied, "I shall stay with much pleasure;" and desired Mr. Moncourtuse to tell me he should be happy to see me early next morning. The whoonghee also desired him to tell me, he would be obliged to me for a chair, and to send to Bengal for a spying-glass, and a pair of sytringies for him.

*March 23.* I sent Mr. Moncourtuse to the whoonghee's with the chair, and calassies to shew them how to pitch their tent. At eight in the morning I embarked, in war-boats, sent by

the mayhoon, to pay him my visit. He received me in his pahoun, or large family boat: he rose when I entered the audience-room; and shook hands with me: we then sat down in chairs close to each other, on the right-hand side of the room, my chair being placed to his right. Mr. Burnett, the rayhoon, and shabunder, were seated on carpets fronting us; the interpreters and two or three of his own people towards the fore part of the room; the rest of his people, with my servants, under awnings on the platform outside. I took off my shoes before I entered the room. The viceroy was dressed in a jacket of fine brown cotton cloth, the manufacture of the country, silk lungee, and muslin fillet handkerchief round his head. His reception was frank and friendly, totally devoid of formality; and we conversed and chatted with the familiarity of old acquaintance. He introduced two of his children to me, a sprightly little girl seven or eight years old, and a little boy of three. About half-an-hour after I had been seated, the whoonghee, passing by on his way to join his majesty, seeing me in the boat, called along-side, and came on board (the mayhoon had said previously, "Perhaps, the whoonghee will call if he sees you here," and had placed a chair for him within a railing in the centre apartment of the boat, about four or five yards to our left). The whoonghee entered the



room without his shoes, and said to the mayhoon, "I have called to see you, and to take my leave of the Resident:" and to me, as he seated himself in the chair, "I always get a chair where you are." He was dressed exactly in the same manner as the mayhoon, being the common dress of the country. Refreshments were then brought in; we were treated with a very good dish of tea, and good sweetmeats and biscuit; the viceroy's tea-equipage was much better than any I had seen before. This was the first visit that the mayhoon had ever received from the whoonghee, and he seemed to be very happy on the occasion; and, as he undoubtedly owed it to me, it must tend to conciliate his friendship for me; but, exclusive of this, I have every reason to believe I stand very well in his good graces. A good deal of cheerful conversation took place, and it gave me much pleasure to perceive I had gained ground at every interview. The whoonghee again introduced the subject of the sword, and was much gratified in finding I had it with me. After some conversation respecting my business, it was agreed that I should go down to Amarapoorah with the mayhoon, when I could consult with him concerning it, and give an answer to a proposal he had to make to me from the whoonghee; and then send the result of our determinations by the rayhoon and one of my own people to the whoonghee,

who would lay them before his majesty. The whoonghee said, he supposed his majesty would return to Amarapoorah in about a month; that the rayhoon should stay to attend me, and that he thought me right in determining to wait at Amara-poorah till his majesty's return. He then rose and took his leave, and proceeded up the river to join his majesty. I suppose he was in the boat about three quarters of an hour. When he was gone, the mayhoon proposed I should go down the river to Amarapoorah in my old boats; that when there I should be provided with others; and then, being near his dinner-hour, he retired. When I arrived at my bungalow, the rayhoon gave me the whoonghee's letter to his son, wrote on a cadjan leaf, in the manner of Malabars. We immediately began to put our baggage on board the boats; by night I had every thing on board, and the bungalows were demolished by the boat people. The rayhoon brought his family-boat over to join my squadron, and the mayhoon sent a war-boat to attend upon me. I slept on board my own boat, and find myself daily getting better, notwithstanding the fatigue I have undergone these three last days.

*March 24.* At six A.M. I left Patience Island, where I had been immured for near two months, for Amarapoorah. At nine made fast to the eastern main bank, about two miles to the

northward of the city, to wait the orders of the Enga Tekaing's looto; the rayhoon in company—he breakfasted with me. At half-past one the orders arrived, when he dropt down to the city, and made fast to the main bank, near the south suburbs. The rayhoon requested me to remain on board the boats for this night, saying he would go himself next morning to inform the looto of my arrival, as he supposed they might wish to receive me with the respect and attention due to my rank. In the evening Mr. Burnett went up to look at the house which Mr. Agusar, the Armenian merchant, had offered me for my residence.

*March 25.* About nine A.M. the rayhoon came on board with a blank face, and told me I might go up to the house; but he made no mention of any one being sent to conduct me.

Axious to quit the wretched boats I was in, I detmined to waive ceremony; and I therefore st off with Mr. Burnett and my own suite, mountèd on the horses given me by the whoonghee, a common cooley as our guide. Our road lay north long the banks of the river, about three-quarters of a mile, a number of shabby straggling house on piles on our right hand; we then turned up a street to the east, with very good tiled wooden house on both sides, which, in a short mile's distance, brought us to our house, situated on the south side of the street near the

western centre gate of the fort, and distant from the main ditch of the fort about seventy or eighty yards. I found the house spacious, cool, and substantial, raised about two feet above the level of the street, built of brick and mud, plastered, and terraced. I was employed throughout the day getting our baggage from the boats, for which purpose I was obliged to hire carts and cooleys, not the smallest notice having been taken of me by government, nor a peon sent to guard us from the obtrusion of the rabble.

*March 26.* Early in the morning I sent Mr. Rowland, my interpreter, to the mayhoon of Hunzawuddy, who has a house within the fort, to inform him of my being ashore, and my desire to have some private conversation with him, requesting he would appoint a time either to wait on me, or me on him. He received him with his usual affability, inquired kindly after my health, &c., and said he should be happy to see me the next morning about eight o'clock. The rayhoon came to breakfast. After breakfast he told me he was going to pay his respects to the Enga Tekaing, and requested to know if I had any commands. I told him I had none, but that I should be happy to pay my respects to his highness whenever the mode of my reception was ascertained. He then hinted to me the paying a visit to the whoonghee's son, and other officers of government. I



asked him if that would be proper, considering what had passed between me and the whoonghee; and whether the latter would not deem such conduct inconsistent. This question brought him to his recollection; and he admitted that I could not visit the whoonghee's son. He then shewed me a carboy of rose-water, which he had bought as a present for the Enga Tekaing, and requested of me to give him some trifling curiosity in addition, for the same purpose; four pieces of sannahs, and two of choppa romauls, to present to the whoonghees and other officers; as he said it was customary amongst the Burmhians never to go empty-handed to court, and that he had nothing of his own to offer, having been stripped during his nine months' residence here. I told him it was nearly the case with me, as he had taken away all my little nick-nacks to give to his majesty and the royal family; that expense was no consideration with me: if he could purchase any thing, I would give him money for the purpose. He candidly told me, that a trifle from me would be more acceptable than any thing he could purchase; I therefore gave him a gilt glass goolanbash, and the cloth, &c., also a handsome quilted counterpane, which he had fallen in love with himself. Employed the day in erecting sheds, &c., for my people. About four P.M., the rayhoon returned, and, if I may judge from ap-

pearances, had not met with a very favourable reception. (Indeed I have been told, he is no favourite with the prince or his ministers, a circumstance very probable, as the favourites of the father are often detested by the son). He told me he had seen the prince, who had asked him if I meant to remain at Amarapoorah till the return of his majesty, or proceed to Rangoon? To which he replied, he did not know; but said he knew I wished to pay my respects to him as soon as I knew it would be agreeable to his highness, who referred him for an answer to his looto. He said he had afterwards met the mayhoon, who is to set off for Rangoon in two or three days, and that it was his excellency's opinion, as well as his own, that I should proceed to Rangoon, and return to settle what remained at some more convenient opportunity. By way of intimidating me, he said that, when the mayhoon and he were gone, the common people, not knowing the terms on which I stood with his majesty, might insult me. In reply I repeated what I had often said before, that I certainly should not leave Amarapoorah until my business was completed; indeed, that I could not, consistent with propriety, quit the place until I had had an audience of leave of his majesty; that I should be sorry to be the means of detaining him from his government; that, however much I might

feel the loss of so able an adviser and friend, I requested that he would not remain here on my account; that I feared no insult, well assured no one dared insult me, however much inclined some might be to treat me with slight and neglect; that he well knew that it had been agreed on between the whoonghee and me, at our last interview, that I was to come down to Amarapoorah to settle all the points of my public business with the mayhoon, and then send the papers by him and Mr. Burnett to him, the whoonghee, when he would lay them before his majesty; that the papers were already prepared, and I only waited to consult the mayhoon previous to my sending them off. For his satisfaction I shewed him the papers, and told him that, in due time, I should communicate the contents. He seemed surprised and puzzled, but acquiesced in the propriety of the resolution I had adopted.

The truth is, both the mayhoon and he are unwilling to leave me behind, fearing that I might obtain too much influence at court; and are both anxious to return to their governments. I am fully persuaded, the slight I have received here has been intended to disgust me with the place, and induce me to quit it; but they little know my temper, if they suppose I am to be influenced by so shallow a device. He promised

to meet me to-morrow at the mayhoon's, and took his leave.

*March 27.* About eight A.M., I set out with Mr. Burnett on horseback, with my ordinary suite, to visit the mayhoon, whose house is in the fort. We entered the fort by the western gate, close to my house, and found the mayhoon's residence situated on the north side of the palace: a commodious building of wood, within a compound, raised on piles, and tiled. I was not required to take off my shoes; however, when I came to the room prepared for our reception, the floor of which was carpetted, I took them off, out of compliment to his excellency. In the room was placed three chairs, one for the mayhoon, one for myself, and one for Mr. Burnett. Shortly after I entered the room, the mayhoon came to me, shook me by the hand, and received me with his usual affability. After we were seated, his wife came in, also his father and mother, a venerable pair; his children, and several of his relations. We conversed on various topics, and were entertained with tea and sweat-meats. I had brought a few carraway comfits in my pocket for his children, which were accepted with pleasure; the mayhoon and shabunder came in while we were at tea. I shewed his excellency some papers I had drawn up for his majesty's consideration; told him some of the



heads, but requested of him to send his writer and Mr. Moncourtuse, the translator, to my house, that they might be fully translated, as they were too long to discuss during a visit, and I was desirous of having his excellency's opinion of them before they were presented. He immediately gave orders to that effect, and then pressed me to return with him to Rangoon, using nearly the same arguments as had been urged by the rayhoon; adding, that he would leave a proper person to bring his majesty's answer to my request; that he had already his majesty's directions to comply with all my wishes, so that it would be a needless trouble my remaining here. I endeavoured to evade the question, unwilling to give him a positive refusal, saying, I would consider of what he had stated after the papers were translated; all I wanted at present was, to lay a solid foundation on which his excellency and I might, at our leisure, raise a superstructure that might be highly beneficial to his majesty's interest. I then told his excellency, that I had to request the favour of his introducing me to the Enga Tekaing. He replied, he would wait on the Enga Tekaing to know his pleasure, and would attend at his palace to receive and introduce me; and that proper officers would be sent to conduct me. His excellency was habited in the common dress of the country;

and I observed, wore his sandals in the room; from whence I concluded he expected I should have worn my shoes. The rayhoon and shabunder were seated on carpets, but his excellency had sent for the chairs for them, which they declined using. His father was seated on a stool. His excellency said, when we were at Rangoon, he would get me to assist in furnishing his house with tables and chairs in the European manner, which of course I readily promised. From every thing I have observed, these people have a great inclination to adopt our manners, and are very partial to our manufactures. After staying with him about two hours and a half, I retired, and returned to my own house, to which I was soon followed by the rayhoon, writer, and translator, who were employed the remainder of the day in translating the papers. His excellency also sent two peons to guard the house; and the prince's looto, a number who enclosed the front of the house with a bamboo fence, to keep off the multitude. The rayhoon dined with us.

*March 28.* The rayhoon came to conduct me to the Enga Tekaing's; the prince also sent two elephants and two sandoghans to conduct me. I had prepared some presents for the prince, and was preparing to set off, when a messenger arrived from the prince desiring the visit might

be put off till twelve o'clock, in order, as it was said, to give more time for my better reception ; at the same time, I was informed by the rayhoon, that the form of my reception was settled, as follows, *viz.*, that I was to proceed a certain distance on the elephants, and then dismount ; that I was to walk from thence to the roundih where I was to wait till permission was obtained for my admission to the prince : at the gate of the palace I was to take off my shoes, and leave my punka and servants, and walk barefoot on the ground to the palace. I told the rayhoon, that these stipulations were contrary to what I had all along been taught to expect ; that, in agreeing to take off my shoes\* at the ladder, I paid the prince a greater compliment than was paid by any of our Residents to the greatest princes in Hindostan ; that I neither could or would do more. I also objected to dismounting till I came to the gate, or stopping any where ; the rayhoon immediately went to inform the mayhoon of this determination. About eleven o'clock the mayhoon sent Mr. Moncourtuse to inform me, they would waive the ceremony of my going to the roundih, &c., but requested me to take off my shoes at the gate. I desired Mr. Moncourtuse to tell his excellency, it gave me infinite concern to hesitate a moment in complying with his wishes, but, that I really could not deviate from

my resolution; that I was willing to pay every manly respect to the prince, but requiring me to walk barefoot on the ground, was too great a sacrifice. About one o'clock the elephants were sent away, and Mr. Moncourtuse returned to tell me, the visit was postponed till some further opportunity. I am pretty well informed, I owe this extraordinary conduct to the officious zeal of the rayhoon, who is desirous of paying his court to the prince, by obtaining this sacrifice of me to his pride. I also have learnt, that these stipulations were contrary to the advice of the enga's whoon, who has the reputation of being one of the most sensible men in the kingdom; and, privately, have been given to understand that, as soon as the mayhoon and rayhoon are gone, I may visit the prince on my own terms; as both him and his ministers are very desirous of seeing me. I have further learnt, that the rayhoon pressed the mayhoon, and enga's whoon, to urge my departure for Rangoon: but, without any encouragement from either. He went from the fort to his own boat without calling to see me: I suppose very ill pleased with his want of success. Mr. Moncourtuse informed me, that while he was at the looto, messengers arrived from Bengal, who had been sent to demand some Burmhan fugitives who have taken refuge in the Company's territories. They reported, that



the Governor-General in reply had desired them to say, that he had deputed me as the Company's Resident at the Burmhan court, and referred his majesty to me on the subject of their mission ; that some disturbances had broken out in the northern frontiers of Bengal ; that the Governor-General had despatched a large force to that quarter, and was about to leave Calcutta with a reinforcement himself, (I suppose these disturbances are in the province of Oude). They gave further information, that a ship, called the *Dudaloy*, belonging to some Burmhan subjects at Rangoon, sailing under Burmhan colours and passport, had been captured by a French privateer in Balasire Roads. By this ship I had sent a gold watch, two boxes of fossils, of mineral water, and several letters, which, of course, are all lost ; but my regret for my private loss, I hope, will be compensated fully by the advantage that will accrue to the interests of my nation, as this event must tend to exasperate the Burmhans against the French.

I forgot to mention yesterday, that late in the evening Mr. Jhansey brought me more money, in part payment due for the coins. He denominated the silver five and eight per cent, but had he denominated it 25 and 40, he would have been nearer the truth ; but I deferred saying any thing on the subject till the whole pay-

ment was made, and the rate of exchange stated, when I can get a proper assay and undeceive them in their hopes of defrauding me. Indeed, the conduct of the officers of government in this respect is truly shameful, and calls aloud for redress.

Late in the evening, Mr. Moncourtuse called and informed me, that a boat had arrived at Rangoon with letters, for whom he did not know; but learnt that two ships had arrived at Rangoon.

*March 29.* In the morning, Mr. Moncourtuse and the mayhoon's sheredoghee came to me, with a letter from the mayhoon, which contained in substance the arguments he had used before, to induce me to go with him to Rangoon, and requesting I would hold myself in readiness to move in five days. I immediately wrote him an answer, pointing out how contradictory his request was to the arrangement settled in his boat by the whoonghee; the impropriety of my leaving Amarapoorah without concluding my business, and taking a regular leave of his majesty; and, requesting he would appoint a time and place for us to discuss the objects of my mission. The rayhoon did not come nigh me this day. In the evening I got one of the poizahs to assay the silver that had been paid me, and found the kind they called five per cent. was fifteen per cent.

worse than flowered silver, or twenty-five worse than pure; and the kind they call eight per cent., twenty-seven and a half worse than pure silver.

*March 30.* Early in the morning Mr. Moncourtuse called on me, and informed me that he had a very disagreeable message to deliver from the mayhoon, which was, that as I declined taking his advice, he must break off all intercourse with me; that he would never come to my house again, and requested I would not go to his. To which I returned the following written reply:— You will be pleased to inform his excellency the mayhoon, that I have heard the message you were ordered to deliver, but cannot believe his excellency so far forgets the rights of hospitality, or the respect due to my public station, as to intend, that I should consider it as conveying his serious sentiments. Many things may occur in the course of my mission which, although they do not immediately coincide with his excellency's wishes, yet, when explained, may appear in a different light, and prove highly advantageous to the interests of his majesty; but, whether or not, the performance of my duty should never be made a cause for his excellency's withdrawing his friendship from me.

On my part, I beg you will assure his excellency, that nothing can abate my esteem and respect for him, and that I trust he will ulti-

mately find me deserving of an equal return. In the meantime, I earnestly entreat of his excellency to recall his message, and not to permit the suggestions of madmen to interrupt the harmony subsisting between us; much more, by insulting me, the representative of the English Government-General, to endanger the harmony between the two nations; for, an insult offered to me, will be considered as aimed at those who deputed me. That I repeat the request I made yesterday, to be favoured with an interview, when we might talk these matters over in an amicable manner; and, as I hoped, reconcile every thing to his excellency's wishes; at least convince him of the propriety of my conduct, and of the injury he did me in construing a difference of opinion on a point of public duty into disrespect, as it had been, and ever should be, my endeavour to prove the sincerity of my esteem and friendship for him.

With this message he went away and joined the rayhoon, who was waiting for him at a house at some distance, and then both proceeded to the mayhoon's.

It is very remarkable, that while this impertinent message was delivering to me, the mayhoon and his wife were treating my interpreter, Mr. Rowland, with every mark of kindness and attention. I had sent him early in the morning



to obtain a permit for supplying my house with stock; they detained him for near three hours in their private room, made him sit down by them, and gave him tea, &c., their whole discourse being on me, my business and intentions, without one word escaping them allusive to the message above recited.

About one o'clock, Mr. Moncourtuse returned, and informed me he had delivered my message to the mayhoon, before the rayhoon and shabunder, and that his excellency appeared sorry for having sent me the message. He had not, however, authorized him to recall it, but directed him to call again in the evening. He mentioned several other parts of the conversation that occurred, which I forbear reciting, as coming from such dubious authority.

I know the mayhoon to be a good man, not deficient in sense, but too open to the artifices of designing men, and, therefore, constantly wavering in his opinions and conduct. Surely, never had poor diplomatique wight such a strange crew to deal with as has fallen to my lot, ignorant of the first principles of government, policy, or politeness, and their words, actions, and sentiments, continually at variance; detesting, backbiting, and undermining each other, yet occasionally combining to perplex me. I know that the mayhoon neither respects nor esteems the

rayhoon nor shabunder, and is so greatly beloved by the king and royal family, as to place him above their machinations. Yet he sacrifices his opinion to their views. The rayhoon depends solely on the favour of his majesty, and, like all favourites, is detested by all the rest of the court; and, vain of his influence, returns the compliment with interest. The shabunder and he, in particular, are bitter enemies; yet, on the present occasion, it should seem he had joined the shabunder against me. The shabunder, I know, to be a confirmed enemy to me, and the English interest, and therefore am not surprised at any opposition from him; he is shallow, conceited, and malicious, and like many other little despicable animals, capable of doing mischief, but incapable of doing good. Mr. Moncourtuse, the translator, I know, hates both the rayhoon and shabunder, but, at the same time, fearing them, plays their game, when he would make me believe he is serving me. I give him credit for his wishes to thwart them, but none for his own sincerity towards me; indeed, he is such an habitual liar, as to be incapable of telling the truth were he ever so much inclined. Yet this man am I obliged to employ, and occasionally to confide in; so that I have to contend and manage the mayhoon's vanity, and weakness, and versatility; the rayhoon's art, impertinence, and ambition;

the shabunder's cunning and malignity; and the translator's corrupt mind and tergiversation.

About two o'clock the shabunder, cash-keeper, &c., came to pay me the balance due on account of the coins. Before I permitted them to proceed on weighing, I requested to know the rate of exchange at which they meant to pay me. The shabunder informed me, weight for weight of the five per cent. silver for the siccas, or 100 ticals five per cent. for 125 sicca rupees, which I refused to receive: he therefore retired for further orders. The mayhoon's wife had desired Mr. Rowland to get for her from me some nutmegs; I therefore availed myself of the opportunity to send him to her with a copy of the message I had sent the mayhoon in the morning, fearing it had not been truly delivered. He returned about half-past six in the evening, and informed me that the mayhoon was out, but that the lady received him, and wrote down herself a translation of my message, and promised to make the mayhoon acquainted with it when he returned at night. She chided him for not having come oftener to the house, assured him of her friendship, and almost frightened him with her attentions. The shabunder coming in while they were busy with the translation, she told him to go away, as she had private business with Mr. R., and even would not permit her servants to be present. This lady has

the reputation of great abilities, and is said to render her husband great assistance in his public business. Mr. Moncourtuse called about seven, and informed me he had been at the mayhoon's, but finding that he was gone to the eng a tekaing's, he went to the eng a's whoon's, and waited till he came out. The whoon told him, that while he was at the prince's the rayhoon came there, and told the prince I would not go to Rangoon. The prince, in reply, told him, that it certainly depended on my pleasure, and that he should not interfere without a positive order from his father. The old gentleman sent me a present of two water-melons, desired Mr. Moncourtuse to present his compliments to me, and to assure me he should be most happy to render me any service in his power.

I understand the rayhoon's wife left him this morning, so that he has now his share of trouble, which I hope will induce him, in future, to have more compassion on me ; in truth, I think I have gone through my probation of patience.

*March 31.* This morning the mayhoon sent his baggage on board his boat. I learn that he is positively to embark for Rangoon to-morrow morning. He and his family were all day at the eng a tekaing's, taking leave. About eleven A.M. his people came to pay me the balance due for the coins, and were wrangling till five in the evening



with my poizat, or shroff, in settling this trifling account, and after all did not finish. Paid Mr Jhansey, the shabunder, the amount due to him by me; he set off for Rangoon about noon. At five P.M. I sent Mr. Rowland, my interpreter, to the mayhoon, to learn when it would be agreeable for his excellency to see me. His lady, as soon as he entered the house, told him, in a jocular way, "Well, I have done my duty, you may now finish the business yourself." The mayhoon then told him he was perfectly convinced of my friendship, and that what he had said proceeded from the great regard he had for me, as he much feared I should experience both disgust and inconvenience after his departure, and without deriving any adequate benefit; he added, that he was to embark early the next morning, and would be happy to see me on board his boat, where we might have some private conversation. I saw nothing of the rayhoon this day.

*April 1.* The mayhoon and his family passed to his boat, and he sent me a message to inform me he would be glad to see me. About a quarter of an hour afterwards I went to him with my usual retinue. I found him alone in his boat, and satisfactorily explained to him the necessity and propriety of my conduct; and communicated many other little matters to him, which I had long wished to state, but had no opportunity before.

I have every reason to hope this interview will be attended with the happiest effects. We then settled the plan of my proceedings, and his brother-in-law coming in, he recommended my interest to his particular care. He told me he would occasionally wait on me, and attend on me whenever I sent for him. This gentleman is connected to the mayhoon by a double tie. His sister is married to the mayhoon, and he is married to the mayhoon's sister. He holds a confidential post in the enga tekaing's household. I then requested the favour of the mayhoon's giving me an introductory letter to the enga tekaing. He told me it was unnecessary, as he had already done his duty by me in that respect, having recommended me in the strongest terms to all his friends; adding, that they well knew every good or ill that might befall me, would be felt by him the same as if happening to himself; for that we were (to use his own words) "two bodies and one soul:" in short, he said every thing in his artless manner to convince me he had the sincerest friendship for me. He then gave orders to the mew-jerry to remain with me, and to be careful in obeying my orders: he also directed that Mr. Moncourtuse, the translator, and one of the Rangoon king's linguists, should remain to attend my orders. I presented his lady with a sandal-wood escrutoire, and his daughter with a pearl neck-

lace, with which they were highly pleased. We promised to correspond, shook hands, and I took leave. As I was going out of the door, I said I hoped he would remember me. He replied, that his heart was too full to say all that he wished or felt, but that I might be assured where he gave his hand he also gave his heart. I then took leave of his lady, who appeared much affected. She said I was very wrong not to go with her, as they would have taken every care of me; that I should now be left quite a stranger, without friends, and God only knew what might happen to me.

I left these good people with much regret; they seem happy in themselves and family, and are highly esteemed by all who know them; but this regret was amply compensated by the satisfaction derived from the success of my interview, and the pleasing hope of being numbered among their friends. When I returned home, I made up a packet of letters for Calcutta, and gave them in charge to a Mussulman merchant going to Rangoon. The mayhoon's brother-in-law paid me visit on his return from the boat. The mangies of the boat that came up with me, called to take their leave, and informed me they were loaded, and going down with the mayhoon. I understand the rayhoon is to go to Rangoon, but have not seen him. The chekoy who came up with me

called to take his leave. He wanted to borrow 500 ticals of me, but, as I had no desire to lose his friendship, I excused myself; besides, I had already given him a present adequate to his services.

*April 3.* In the morning sent my interpreter, Mr. Rowland, with a carboy of rose-water to the enga's whoon, to make my acknowledgments for his civilities. He sent me a polite message in return, and a present of a bunch of cocoa-nuts. I also sent him to inquire of the whoonghee's son if he had received his father's letter respecting me. He received him very politely, and said he had received his father's letter, and should be happy to render me any service in his power. His lady sent me a present of a lacquered betel box. In the forenoon the enga's treasurer paid me a visit. In the evening a procession of votive offerings for the Burmhan priests passed by, being the commencement of their water-feast, Hooly or Saturnalia, which commences the first moon after the sun's entering Aries.

*April 4.* During the morning, groups of women passing through the streets paying visits, a respectable matron and her family did me the honour of one. I received an indirect message from the rayhoon through Mr. Moncourtuse, intimating that he hoped I would make him a present. I desired Mr. M. to advise him as from



himself, that it would be better for him to pay me a visit, as his absenting himself from my house without cause had an extraordinary appearance; and that if he should leave Amarapoorah without calling on me, it might tend to eradicate the favourable opinion I had of him, and invalidate any claim to attention he might have on me. In the evening I received a visit from the chekoy of Tavay, a sensible polite man, who seemed very desirous of cultivating my acquaintance, which, of course, I encouraged.

*April 5.* Early in the morning I sent Mr. Burnett and the interpreters to the enga's whoon, to know when it would be agreeable to the prince to favour me with an audience, and to intimate to him the manner in which I expected to be received. Also to inform him, that I should be happy to pay my respects to *him* if he would receive me as the mhee whoonghee, and return my visit. To the first part of the message he replied, that all my wishes would be acceded to, except the wearing my shoes to the foot of the ladder of the enga's palace, as it was customary for the first men of the country to take off their shoes at the gate. He would not answer definitively, but would consult with the prince, and send me an answer in the evening. In respect to the latter, he should be happy to see me whenever it suited my convenience on my own terms, and would re-

turn my visit with pleasure. I also sent Mr. Rowland with a present to the mhee whoonghee's son and wife, in return for the present which she had sent me. They were much pleased with my attention, and the whoonghee's son said he would come and see me as soon as I had visited the enga tekaing, as it might give offence if he were to come before. He also informed Mr. R. that he expected his majesty would return to Amara-poorah in about ten days. I punished a sepoy of my guard with three dozen lashes for striking a Burmhan woman, and behaving insultingly to the naig.

*April 6.* Early in the morning I sent Mr. Burnett to the chief whoonghee, to know when it would be agreeable to him to receive my visit, but he had not returned from the Looto. He therefore did not see him.

*April 8.* I forgot to mention yesterday that the rayhoon sent me a message saying, he was going down the river, and requested to know if I had any commands. Returned for answer, I had no particular commands, but was sorry he had left the place without seeing me, as he must have been convinced by my conduct towards him, that I had a regard for him. His man apologized by saying, the rayhoon was afraid I should detain him; but the truth is, he well knowing I was fully informed of his manœuvres and tergiversa-

tion was ashamed to see me. Where there is some shame there may be some hopes of reformation ; and I trust the lessons he has received will deter him from attempting to trifle with me another time.

*April 9.* In the forenoon died one of the horses presented me by the whoonghec ; the carcase was begged by the Burmhans to eat. The tribe of smiths, including all the artificers in metals, are particularly fond of horse-flesh, supposing it best calculated to recruit the strength wasted by working at their forges. Animals that have died from disease are, in general, eaten by the inhabitants of the country who are fond of flesh ; but as metempsychosists, they are prohibited from killing animals for food. In this they resemble their neighbours the Chinese ; and I apprehend this filthy custom of eating the flesh of diseased animals is the cause of a dreadful disorder which attacks the extremities with ulcerous sores, which soon mortify, and leave those who survive disgusting and mutilated objects. The beggars of the country are chiefly composed of this class, and wander about the country in groups ; assembling at the feasts of the principal pagodas, where they are relieved by the bounty of the devout and humane. Coming up the river we met two or three squadrons of little boats belonging to these wretched pilgrims, going with their families

to the southward ; except these it is rare to see a beggar in the Burmhan dominions. They seem to be licensed by their peculiar misfortune ; the other poor, as far as I can learn, are subsisted at the baws or cottages of the poonghees ; for which purpose, the poonghees of each monastery, make a procession early every morning to appropriated quarters of the town, to collect the donations of the charitable, which, in general, consist of boiled rice, vegetable curries, and fruit. About four o'clock, a messenger arrived in a war-boat, from court express, with an order from his majesty to the mayhoon of Hunzawuddy, to proceed to Rangoon without me, and for me to return to Amarapoorah if I had left it with him ; also to inform me that his majesty would return to Amarapoorah in a few days, and wished to see me. The messenger had orders to follow us as far down the river as Rangoon, so that if I had followed the mayhoon's advice I should have had the trouble of returning. It appears that his majesty had been informed I had left Amarapoorah at the instance of the mayhoon, contrary to his wishes and intentions ; it must therefore be pleasing to him, to learn that I had resisted such imprudent advice. The messenger informed me that he had been two days in coming from court ; that his majesty had cut down an immense quantity of wood to burn bricks for his pagoda ; also two large trees



to make rockets, which he intended should be the largest ever seen in the Burmhan dominions. He proposes that each rocket shall contain 3,000 viss, or 10,500 pounds of powder. I gave the messenger a present, and he set off immediately to inform his majesty of my being here; very happy at the speedy and successful termination of his mission. He did not stay to communicate his message to any of the governments of Amara-poorah, I therefore thought it a proper opportunity of paying a compliment to the enga's whoon, by informing him of it; he returned me a polite answer, saying, he was very happy to hear the news, and flattered by the mark of my friendship in communicating it to him.

*April 10.* I sent Mr. Burnett and the two interpreters to the enga's whoon, to learn whether the ceremonials of my audience with the Enga Tekaing was settled. He received him politely, and promised if he would call the same hour next day, he would give him a definitive answer: at the same time I desired him to ask if it would be agreeable to the Enga Tekaing, my giving alms to the poonghees according to the custom of the Burmhans.

*April 11.* Mr. Burnett and the interpreters went to the enga's whoon, who received him politely as before, but had not been able to settle the point of my reception; among other matters, I

had referred to the engas' whoon for his advice, whether it would be agreeable to his majesty for me to give charity to the poonghees, according to the custom of the country ; he said he would refer it to the Enga Tekaing, who he was sure would consider it as a great compliment. In the evening I received a polite message from the Enga Tekaing, expressive of the pleasure he had received from my proposal, and assuring me of its meeting his majesty's approbation.

*April 13.* His majesty has been pleased to prohibit the throwing water usual at this festival, which seems to be a great disappointment to the ladies ; they are, however, indulged in parading the streets, and paying visits to their several pagodas and friends in their gala dresses ; many of them have honoured me with their company. I received a message from the engas' whoon, containing many polite excuses for the delays in the ceremonial of my audience, and with the strongest assurances of his friendship, and readiness at all times to serve me. He requested me to wait patiently a few days, and he would take care to have every thing settled to my satisfaction. I apprehend the delay arises from their having sent for his majesty's instructions on the subject.

*April 14.* This morning I began to distribute charity to the Burmhan poonghees, served out rice and plantains to 150 of them ; bought a set

of the Burmhan chessmen, and began to learn to play the game according to their mode. The form and powers of the pieces are nearly the same as ours, the variation in the game arises chiefly from the mode of placing them, but I defer a fuller description until I am better instructed. Several small sapphires and rubies have been offered me for sale, but of inferior value, and at a very exorbitant price. Many horses have also been offered for sale, smart little ponies; but the prices they ask at present are beyond all moderation; for a decent gelding, not above twelve hands high, they ask 1200 or 1300 rupees: indeed, it is nearly the same with every thing I want to purchase, from whence it should seem they think me deficient in wit and abounding in money.

*April 16.* In the evening I received a visit from the king's chief cossay bramin, and several other inferior bramins. In appearance they are very much like Bengalese; the chief bramin pretends to divination, or palmistry: consulted the lines on our hands, and told our fortunes in the usual cant. I shewed him some Bengal writing, which he read with facility, and also read a little shanscrit. He excused his want of knowledge, saying, it was forty years since he was taken prisoner, and brought into this country. He spoke Hindostanee tolerably correct; from him I learnt that the kingdom of Meikley, formerly populous

and fertile, was desolated by the incursions of the Burmhans; that they never had been able entirely to reduce it, as the rajah and inhabitants, when unable to withstand them in the field, retired to their fastnesses in the jungles. He told me he was about seventy-five years of age, and was still hale and robust: in stature he was about six feet high. It being late, he begged leave to retire, and promised to call another time.

*April 20.* In the evening Mr. Moncourtuse called to inform me, that orders had come from his majesty, for him to go to court to translate the letters lately arrived from Arrakan. The enga whoon's writer did not come to-day. The slightest pretence serves them as an excuse for idleness. Thermometer, morning, 82°; noon, 90°; evening, 91°; night, 88°.

*April 21.* Being desirous of writing to the whoonghee by Mr. Moncourtuse, I sent a written message by him to the looto, to know what reason I was to assign for my not having been honoured with an interview with the Enga Tekaing. They returned me a polite answer, saying, the delay arose from their waiting for a fortunate day, and which they hoped would shortly occur. In the meantime they begged me to have patience, assuring me no slight was intended.



*April 23.* In the morning I tried a balloon of paper, nine feet in diameter, and about sixteen in height, with spirits of wine; but the air was too much rarefied for it to rise, though perfectly inflated. About seven o'clock, Mr. Moncourtuse called on me, and informed me, he had received his despatches from the looto. I wrote a letter for the mee whoonghee, and gave it him to deliver. Gave orders to the mewjerry to look out for a boat fit to despatch to Rangoon for a supply of necessaries, &c.

*April 25.* In the evening the same messenger, who before came to me from his majesty, came down in a gilt boat, and brought me a written message from his majesty, importing, that he would be at Amarapoorah in five days more; that he intended going down with me to Hunza-wuddy, to establish me there on an equality with the mayhoon. The messenger, his majesty's body-servant, returned to him immediately, upon receiving my answer. I gave him a handsome present for himself and the boat's crew.

*April 26.* This morning being the first of the new moon, I gave a charitable feast in the Burmhan style, to twenty-one poonghees. I tried the balloon again with a furnace, but in spite of all our efforts it would not rise; this must be attributed, in the first instance, to the extreme rarity of the air, and, in the second, to the bad-

ness of the paper. I sent Mr. Rowland with a present to the packaam whoonghee, and to obtain an order from him for my hircarra to pass down the river unmolested. He received him with great attention, and expressed his sorrow, that he had not yet had the pleasure of seeing me ; and promised to send the order at twelve o'clock. In the morning, there passed by three Bengal horses, brought by the way of Arrakan, for his majesty ; they were but indifferent musters.

*April 28.* In the evening, one of my servants detected a Burmhan shroff using false weights. I sent and had him apprehended, but strong intercession being made by the inhabitants to pardon the man, the crime being capital, I agreed to drop the prosecution, on his taking an oath, never to commit the like offence again.

*April 29.* I received a visit from one of the king's head ruby merchants, and learnt from him several particulars relative to the working of the mines, and of the cotton trade to China. In the evening some of the sepoy's of my guard detected other Burmhan shroffs using false weights, but very improperly received a bribe to conceal the fact. I sent to have the money returned, and have the parties apprehended, but they had absconded.

*April 30.* Mr. Moncourtuse returned from court, and informed me, that he had translated the

Governor-General's letter to the mayhoon of Arrakan, which contained in substance as follows: That he had deputed me as agent for the Bengal Government to the court of Amarapoorah, and referred his majesty to me for the arrangement of all matters of discussion between the two governments; in consequence of which, his majesty had directed the mhee whoonghee to send orders to the looto of the regency, to state the demands of the Burmhan government, respecting the fugitives who had fled from Arrakan into the Company's territories. Mr. Moncourtuse shewed me the order he had brought down from the mhee whoonghee to that effect; and delivered me a copy of the list of the fugitives. By the direction of the mhee whoonghee, he had translated to that minister the letter I had sent by him: he further informed me, that the mhee whoonghee was much pleased with my letter and conduct, in resisting the importunities of the Rangoon government: severely condemned them; and said he had a great mind to send for the rayhoon back again; adding, although he escapes now, he will not remain long in his present government. He asked if his son had been to see me; and when Mr. Moncourtuse informed him he had not, he directed him, immediately on his arrival at Amarapoorah, to call on him, and inform him, that it was his positive orders, that

he should wait on me at least every other day. His majesty inquired very particularly after me of Mr. Moncourtuse, as to my situation, and whether I had recovered of the indisposition I laboured under while at Mheghoon; and seemed happy when informed that I was perfectly recovered. It further appears that his majesty was well pleased at the reception and attention paid at Calcutta to the messenger, (who is no more than a writer to the mayhoon of Arrakan), from the Arrakan government; and to find that his report of the Governor-General's letter to him and my account tallied so perfectly. While he was at court, accounts arrived from the Burmhan army, informing his majesty that, when they arrived within twelve days' march of Vizalley, messengers from thence had arrived in camp with letters, requesting them to halt, as the princess intended for his majesty, with her retinue, would join them in a few days; these accounts had also served to please his majesty. According to Mr. Moncourtuse, it seems very uncertain when his majesty may return to Amarapoorah. One cause of delay is, that there is not water enough in the river for his boat; but I do not rely much on this report, as his majesty's motions are very irregular and unforeseen, it being a part of his policy to conceal his movements, with a view no doubt to keep his officers alert and attentive to their duty.



Mr. Moncourtuse informed me, that he was going to deliver the letters to the packaan whoonghee, and requested to know if I had any message to send. I told him that I had none directly from myself, but directed him to inform the whoonghee and enga's whoon, as privately from himself, that he knew I would receive no public letter from them until I had been publicly received as the agent of the Bengal Government, and treated with the respect due to my rank. I have been now here thirty-six days; I was permitted to land without the smallest attention paid me; to provide a house for myself and for the maintenance of my family without receiving the smallest aid from the members of government, in their public capacity; nor has one person of rank been to visit me. I therefore thought this a proper opportunity to refresh the memories of the regent's ministers, and to enforce my claims to the attention due to me. I foresaw when I landed, that I should have some difficulty in managing the pertinacity of those aged and sagacious counsellors, but relying on my old remedies, patience, and perseverance, I had little doubt of ultimately succeeding, and hope the moment is near at hand; as it should seem their conduct towards me has not the sanction of his majesty, and my present resolution must necessarily bring the contest to an issue one way or other. Before Mr. Moncourtuse left the house, the Arrakan

messenger called to pay me a visit ; he appeared to be a steady intelligent man, deeply impressed with the wonders he had seen, and sensible of the attentions that had been paid him. He cheerfully answered all my queries ; and from him I learnt in substance as follows:—that he set off from Arrakan in one of the country boats ; got to Islamabad in twenty days ; the length of his passage, owing to bad weather ; that, at Chittagong, he was hospitably received by the chief, was furnished with elephants to make excursions in the country, and a guard to escort him to Calcutta. From Islamabad he proceeded by the way of Lackipore and the Sunderbunds, to the Salt-Water Lake ; landed at Baligant, and proceeded from thence to Calcutta, was fifteen days on his passage ; that, when he arrived at Calcutta, the Governor-General had a house hired for him near the Bankshall, at 250 rupees a month rent, and allowed him 300 rupees a month for his expenses ; that he was admitted to an audience shortly after his arrival, and very kindly received ; that on his way to the government house, his followers carrying their arms, they stopt near the gate and debated amongst themselves, whether they should not leave their arms behind, according to the Burmhan custom ; that, while they were hesitating, an officer came out and desired them, much to their surprise, to pro-

ceed as they were ; that, having expressed a desire to see the fort, the Governor-General was pleased to send him a palankin and person to conduct him, who shewed him the fort, the arsenal, and troops exercising, with all which he was highly astonished and delighted. The number of ships, the buildings, the European shops, the roads, horses, and carriages, all excited his admiration. The ladies, he declared, were angels, surpassing all that he had seen before ; and Calcutta altogether deserving the name of one of the four paradises. He said, that the secretary informed him, that a doctor was appointed, and ready to set out to join me ; and that my letters would be forwarded by him. He further informed me, that while he was at Calcutta, a letter arrived from the nabob of Oude to the Governor-General, stating, that he had received a letter from Zemaun Shaw, informing him that he had taken Lahore, and was advancing to the eastward to re-establish the Mahomedan government in India, requesting to know whether he would join him. The Governor-General had, in consequence, sent a body of 15,000 men to reinforce our army at the frontier. That further intelligence arriving from the same quarter, the Governor-General himself had set off for Lucknow with a further reinforcement ; he further said, that the Governor-General had informed him, that Captain Symes was gone to

Europe; he confirmed the report of the French privateers having captured several vessels in the Balasore Roads, and concluded with saying, that he had faithfully reported to his majesty, all that he had seen and heard, as far as he could hope for belief; but that many things were so incredible, that he dared not relate them. I entertained him with tea, &c., and he promised to call on me before he set off for Arrakan. He crossed overland from Arrakan to Chainbainmew on the Erawuddie, in seven days, being the nearest road, but rugged, passable by elephants and horses, but not by carts; and was eight days coming from thence to Amarapoorah. In the proper season, he thinks, the journey from Amarapoorah to Calcutta may be made in forty-five days.

*May 1.* In the afternoon, Mr. Moncourtuse called on me, and informed me that he had reported what I had directed to the puckam whoonghee, who excused himself for the neglect towards me, by saying, that neither his majesty or the mhee whoonghee, had given any directions respecting my reception; and that it was well known they could not wait on me without his majesty's orders, however much they might be inclined, as in truth they were, to pay me every attention; that, whatever might be my determination, it was their duty to comply with the orders



they had received, and to that end they should depute to me, as next morning two, members of the looto to communicate his majesty's wishes. The enga's whoon excused himself, by saying, the business rested chiefly with the packaam whoonghee; that if his inclinations had been consulted, every thing would have been settled to my satisfaction long since; and desired I might be assured that, in a few days, I should have an audience with the Enga Tekaing.

*May 2.* About seven A.M., the chief sheredoghee of the looto, and a sheredoghee of the palace, attended by the jemutdar, or collector of Arrakan, the mayhoon of Arrakan's messenger lately arrived from Calcutta, with several subordinate officers of the looto, and a large rabble of inferior attendants, came to my house: it being my usual breakfast hour, the breakfast-table was laid out, but I postponed breakfasting until they had finished their visit, as I was determined to shew them only a distant civility; accordingly, I had chairs placed for the two sheredoghees on the lower end of the sytringe, at a distance from the table, fronting my usual seat at the head of the table; the Arrakan collector and messenger were seated on the sytringe, to the right, the other subordinate officers to their left, and the rabble in their rear. The sheredoghees, &c., were dressed in the common garb of the country without any

mark of distinction. They began with making inquiries on the part of the whonghee as to my health, &c., which compliment I returned by similar inquiries: they then entered on a long apology, on the part of the whoonghee and woon-docks, for not having been to see me: to which I slightly replied, that they were best acquainted with their own customs; but, in my particular, they appeared very extraordinary. A paper was then produced, which I supposed contained his majesty's orders to the looto, and an attendant writer was about to read from it, when I desired he might be stopped, and ordered Mr. Moncourtuse to ask them, whether they came to settle the preliminaries of my interview with the prince and the ministers of the regency. They replied in the negative, adding, that they came merely to deliver a message from the looto, in conformity to his majesty's orders. I then desired they might be told it was impossible for me to enter on any public business under my present circumstances; I was either somebody or nobody; if somebody, or in other words, the Representative of the Bengal Government, I desired to know, if I had been treated in any respect as such; on the contrary, I had been suffered to land from my boats, and to procure a house for myself and suite, in which I had now been thirty-seven days, without any public notice having been taken of me either



by the prince or any of the members of the looto ; it should, therefore, appear by their behaviour, that they considered me as nobody ; and, if so, it was an absurdity to talk to me on public business. They then endeavoured to explain away the offence given me, saying, they acted in compliance with his majesty's orders. I seized the opportunity of his majesty's name being mentioned, to request they would not mention his name, as my deference and respect for it was so great, that it would give me the most lively concern, to think that his wishes should be impeded for a moment. I considered myself as now speaking to the regency ; that if any delay occurred, it was owing to them ; it was in their power to remove the obstacles and expedite his majesty's wishes. They replied, that they could not act without his majesty's orders ; I rejoined, apply for them. An irregular conversation then took place between the head sheredoghee and Mr. Moncourtuse. I learned from the latter, that they doubted my answer, and wished to re-argue the matter. In consequence, I desired him to tell them my first answer was definitive ; I neither could nor would listen to any public business until I had been received with the attention due to my public rank and situation ; and that, when they knew me better, they would see the inutility of re-arguing with me on a public decision ;

I did not determine lightly, and therefore never wavered in my resolutions. Finding I was not to be moved by their eloquence, they submitted and wrote down my answer. When they had done, willing to soften matters, I told them as they had apologized for the inconveniences I had suffered from their customs, I must now apologize to them for the disappointment they had suffered from mine ; that with us no minister could assume or exercise the public functions of station, until his authority had been unequivocally acknowledged. After a short pause, they desired leave to retire ; I rose from my chair and said, I was extremely sorry they should have been deputed on so fruitless a mission, and expressed my hopes that our next meeting might be more to our mutual satisfaction : they then withdrew. It may not be improper to note, that I permitted them to enter the room and be seated, sometime before I came to them ; I received them dressed in my regimentals, as I have always been when visited by men of rank or public officers ; I delivered what I had to say in a serious but mild tone of voice, and did not deign to allude to the reception at Calcutta of the Arrakan messenger, who sat on the ground listening in silent astonishment ; perhaps, comparing in his own mind the opposite conduct of the two governments. Mr. Moncourtuse attended them back to the looto, and informed me when he returned,



that my determination, &c., had undergone a full discussion; that the members of the court acquitted me of all blame, saying, I had only done my duty; and, although they had no hope of inducing me to alter my resolution, it was their duty to make another essay, and should send for that purpose a deputation of persons of higher rank next morning. If I may believe Mr. Moncourtuse, the deputation was very favourable in their report of my conduct to them, and the Arrakan messenger launched forth in praises of the Bengal government; stating, without reserve, in the public court, the prompt and kind attentions that had been shewed to him. While at Mheeghoon, a half-cast native, dressed like a gentleman's servant, came to my bungalow, and told me a melancholy tale of his being a servant of a Captain Blackwell, who was lying very ill at a place called Reoptolove, and requested I would have the goodness to send him some wine and spirits. I then suspected his story, but, unwilling that my want of faith should be the means of withholding so trifling an aid from an unfortunate Englishman, I gave him the spirits and wine. This evening, seeing the same man passing my house very gaily dressed, I immediately concluded he had imposed on me, and had him called, to question him; his answers confirmed my suspicions, as every other word was a lie, and he also behaved very impertinently. I

sent my interpreter and the mewgerry to complain of him to the enga's whoon, that he might be punished; on his way to the enga's whoon, my interpreter was abused and threatened by several lascars, abettors of the man. The enga's whoon received him very affably, and promised that I should have ample satisfaction.

*May 3.* Aware of the advantage that might be made of the impertinence of these people, I sent Mr. Burnett in the morning with my interpreter to the enga's whoon, to represent it in the most serious light; and to inform him, that I considered it as flowing from the neglect I had experienced from the government of Amrapoorah. He received Mr. Burnett very politely, expressed great sorrow for what had happened, and assured him, the party should be severely punished. He said he had already sent out persons to apprehend the man, and desired Mr. B. to wait till he was brought, that he might see him punished. After Mr. Burnett had waited an hour and a half, word was brought, that the man had absconded. While Mr. Burnett was waiting, mangoes were presented to him, and he was shewn a book of Vertue's Plates to Rapin's History of England, containing portraits of the kings and queens of England, with notes written in the Burmhan language, containing a brief sketch of their respective characters, &c. The whoon questioned

Mr. B. on the subject, compared his answers with the notes, and was much pleased to find they tallied. It appeared to Mr. B. that the notes were of his own writing; he sent the book by him to me, and said he would shew me several other books that he had when we met. The woondock did not come as was promised, but sent an apology in the evening by Mr. Moncourtuse, with positive assurances, that he would come next morning. Mangoes began to be brought in great plenty for sale, some of them very good.

*May 4.* About nine o'clock, Mr. Moncourtuse called, and informed me that the woondock put off his intended visit till evening, but as he could not tell me the precise time when I was to be honoured with his company, I sent the mewjerry to request he would be so kind as to specify the hour, that I might be prepared to receive him with the attention due to his station. The mewjerry soon returned for Mr. Moncourtuse, the woondock being desirous of sending an answer by him. When Mr. Moncourtuse returned, he informed me, that the woondock having learnt from him, that his visit would not produce any alterations in my resolutions, it had therefore been determined that he should be despatched to his majesty to obtain further instructions, and orders for my being received according to my rank. In order to prevent any misrepresentations of my

conduct, I determined to despatch Mr. Burnett and Mr. Rowland, my interpreter, with a memorial to his majesty, and immediately wrote a letter to the chief whoonghee, to request he would order a boat to be provided to carry them for that purpose. About half-past four P.M. my interpreter returned with two of the whoonghee's writers ; they informed me, that they were sent to the golden looto to acknowledge the receipt of my letter, and to read to me the letter, intended to be sent by the looto to his majesty. The letter contained a detailed account of their proceedings in consequence of his majesty's order, my objections to communicate with them on public business, and to request his majesty's further instructions for their guidance, and their conduct towards me, &c. &c. They added, that the whoonghee requested to know, whether my letter was not to the same effect, or whether one boat would not answer for both messengers. I informed them, that the gentleman I meant to send, must have a boat for himself, and that the nature of his despatch, extended to other objects besides the late discussion. They pressed me much to let them know what the business was ; I did not think it proper to gratify them further, than by informing them generally, that the business related to my public situation. As a trait of the Burmhan manner of transacting business,



it may not be improper to state, that while they were urging me to inform them of the contents of the memorial I meant to send his majesty, a common cooly, who was peeping through the bars of the window, called out, Ah, let us know what business you have with his majesty.—All business amongst these people, even of the most important nature, is transacted in public, and the rabble, in this manner, often give their opinion on the subject of debate. Whilst this conversation was passing, Mr. Moncourtuse came in, and as he was going to the whoonghee, I desired he would inform his excellency, that, as they had determined to make a reference to his majesty, I thought it necessary to depute a person on my part, and desired he would bring me an answer, whether they could provide me with the boat I wanted. The writers and Mr. M. then retired. About seven P.M., Mr. Moncourtuse returned, and told me he had not been able to see the whoonghee, but that the woondock had told him, that a boat would be provided agreeably to my wishes.

In the morning I sent the mewjerry to the looto for the necessary orders respecting the boat. When he returned, he informed me, that no orders had been given; but that, on his application, the whoonghee had despatched the necessary orders, and that one of the woondocks

had offered his boat for the purpose. I learnt in the course of the day, that an agent from some Hindoo rajah had arrived from Bengal with letters and presents for his majesty; and that he was secreted in the house of the malabar shabunder of Rangoon; it was the same man who was last year in Bengal, and who was obliged to leave it in a secret and disgraceful manner. I am well informed, this shabunder was employed whilst at Calcutta in intriguing with persons disaffected to our government; in particular, I know he brought letters from some pretender, to the Assam throne; and have great reason to believe that he was the original instigator of the Vizalley expedition: I have further reason to think he formed connexions with some secret agents of the nabob of Oude, and have a distant intimation of a projected plan of invasion of our eastern frontiers, by a Burmhan army, in the event of a rupture with the nabob of Oude. This man is so conscious of his nefarious practices, that, under various pretences, he has not been to see me these two months, and to these practices I attribute the ambiguous conduct of the Burmhan court towards me; and, although I have been silent, I have not been unmindful of their motions, and have used every endeavour in my power to trace the causes to their source, and to counteract the effect.

I have also learnt, that two fugitive Englishmen, Messrs. Blackwell and Darby, have relieved the French commander of the *Perseverance*, captured last year at Coringa, and supplied him with a vessel to leave Basseen with his crew, and have taken a mortgage on the *Perseverance* as their security; the terms of the mortgage being, that, if the Frenchman does not repay them the amount, principal and interest, of their loan in six months, the *Perseverance* is to be forfeited to them. There is a mahomedan now at Amara-poorah, who is one of the witnesses to the deed, and the shabunder of Basseen is the other. This mortgage is, in effect, a sale, and merely meant as a cloak to disguise their infamous proceedings; but I trust it will not screen them from the punishment due to their offence, as I am determined to represent it in the most serious light to the Burmhan government, and have their conduct fully investigated.

*May 6.* I sent the mewjerry in the morning to expedite the preparations of the boat. He returned about noon, and informed me, that the woondock's boat could not be launched, and they were, therefore, obliged to provide another, which would be ready in the evening. About five P.M., one of the writers of the looto came to inform me, that the boat was ready, and I sent Mr. Burnett to look at it; he finding it very small,

and insufficient, I determined to send him in the morning to the whoonghee to represent the neglect, and to request a proper one might be supplied without further delay. I learnt this day, that the secret agent from Bengal pretends to be a Brahmin, and is the servant of a Lucknow rajah. The shabunder cautioned the person whom I had employed to make the inquiry, not to let me know there was such a person arrived. I understand they are to set out in a day or two for court, but I hope to be beforehand with him.

*May 7.* About eight A.M., sent Mr. Burnett and my interpreter to the Packaam whoonghee, who received him very politely, and with great affability. Mr. B. was not required to take off his shoes, till entering the audience room: he had a carpet given him to sit on; and the whoonghee came out about a quarter of an hour afterwards: he was seated in a chair with his state equipage near him, as usual; he is said to be upwards of seventy years of age, but still a hale, well-looking man, betraying no marks of decrepitude or age, except the loss of his teeth, which must be imputed to the excessive use of chunam with their betel; he inquired very kindly after my health, and whether I had recovered of the indisposition I laboured under at Mheeghoon, (it should be noted, they make a plea of my indisposition as an excuse to the multitude for my



not having yet been to see the Enga Tekaing); he spoke of me in very kind terms, calling me his beloved son, and expressing regret for the delays which had occurred to prevent my seeing him; he said that the boat should be furnished agreeably to my wishes, and directed the mew-jerry to come to the looto at twelve o'clock to receive a fresh order. In the evening, Mr. Burnett went down to the water-side and choose out a boat, which they promised should be ready by ten o'clock next day.

*May 8.* In the forenoon I received a visit from the Enga Tekaing's general; a formal, sedate, well-looking man; he seemed to have come merely to look at me, and left me apparently without having received any impression, and left as little with a good deal of exertion; for trifles among these people employ as much time and deliberation as matters of moment. I got the boat prepared, and Mr. Burnett, &c., embarked by three P.M.; I have given him ample instructions in writing: the memorials for his majesty, and a letter to the mhee whoonghee; also, presents for his majesty, &c., for with a Burmhan you are never welcome without a present; be it ever so trifling the etiquette is fulfilled.

In the evening the Enga Tekaing's people came, and took away the lattice frames from before my door. I was informed, that they were

wanted to enclose some ground or court, during a ceremony which annually is practised on washing the Enga Tekaing's head; and that they would be returned when the ceremony was over. I mention the circumstance as a trait of the mixture of inconsiderate meanness which attends all the actions of this people. The fence was deemed necessary to keep the multitude off from my house, and considered as a compliment paid me; the whole value of them is not twenty rupees, yet to save these twenty rupees, the compliment to me is done away, and I am again left exposed to the obtrusion of the multitude. The same spirit prevades every thing. If the king, &c., makes you a present, you must pay or give in presents double the value of it, to those who bring it. If boats are provided, you must fee the understrappers to expedite the despatch, pay for the materials necessary for fitting them up, and reward the crew. It is no excuse to say the superiors are not privy to this conduct, suppose the defence true, which it is not; as they give no wages, they are at least tacitly consenting, as their servants have no other source of remuneration.

*May 9.* The general course of the weather is as follows, according to our reckoning by the civil day, which commences at midnight. After sun-set, or about eight P.M., a breeze springs up from the

south-eastward, increases to a fresh breeze during the night, lulls in the morning about four o'clock. After sun-rise, or about seven A.M., springs up again from the same quarter, freshens to a smart breeze during the day, gradually dying away to a calm about sun-set. This course occurred during these twenty-four hours. The weather was sultry, cloudy to the S.E., with lightning at sun-set. Thermometer six A.M. 85°; barometer 29.38, twelve N.; thermometer 93°; barometer 29.44, six P.M.; thermometer 94°; barometer 29.35. In the morning a procession passed by from the fort to the river, consisting of several sets of country musicians and dancers, two files, said to be 500 each of common people, with little earthen-pots and sprigs of trees in them, closed by the officers of the prince's household, in their court-dresses and on horseback. They went down to the river, filled their pots with water, and returned in the same order. This ceremonial of washing the prince's head occurs twice a year, when all the great men pay their court, and prisoners for trivial offences are liberated. In the evening the Enga Tekaing's house-steward came, to ask me for a bottle of brandy for his master; as I was doubtful of his authority, and the use of all intoxicating liquors or drugs being strictly prohibited, I declined giving it, until I had consulted the Enga Tekaing's whoon.

*May 10.* This being the day of full-moon, several processions paraded the streets with votive offerings to the Burmhan deities ; and I had a long visit from two distant relations of the royal family. In the morning I sent to ask the enga's whoon about the brandy business, and, with his advice, sent a bottle immediately. It is intended, I am told, to make a lotion, the virtues of which are such, that whoever washes with it becomes invulnerable. This magical liquor is dispensed by the Enga Tekaing to his particular favourites.

*May 11.* In the morning I was surprised with the appearance of Mr. Moncourtuse. He informed me that he had been sent back with the mhee whoonghee's answer to the looto ; that he had informed the mhee whoonghee, that a messenger from me with letters for his majesty, was on his way up the river, and that he should be wanted to translate them. The mhee whoonghee replied, he might return, but that it was necessary he should immediately go back to Amarapoorah to deliver his answer to the message he had brought from thence. The answer was, that proper officers should be deputed from the looto to announce to me his majesty's orders, which were, that I was to be publicly acknowledged as resident at Rangoon, on the part of the Honourable East India Company's Government, and that I should every where be received as such, and per-



mitted to travel with whatever suite or equipage I pleased. From me Mr. M. went to the pacaam whoonghee to deliver the message. He pretends he had not seen Mr. Burnett on the way; this conduct of his appears to me premeditated, whether so or not, I am helpless; and have no resource; but patience,—time will unravel the mystery, if there is any.

*May 12.* Mr. Moncourtuse called on me about noon, and informed me that the whoonghee, &c., had determined to depute a woondock, and the sheerydoghees of the looto to me, with his majesty's orders, as the next morning. I had a long visit from a first cousin of the Enga Tekaing's, and the son of a northern tributary chobwah or rajah of the shans, bordering on China. About noon Mr. Moncourtuse called, and informed me that some informality in drawing up the order, had prevented the woondock, &c., waiting on me, as this day, but that to-morrow every thing would be ready, and then they would certainly come. All these tales I consider as fictions merely meant to amuse me, and gain time, for what purpose I am yet to learn; however, to bring matters to a crisis, and arrive at some degree of certainty, at night I wrote Mr. M. an order to wait on the pacaam whoonghee, and obtain a positive answer, whether they really intended to send any deputation to me or not; and to desire that he would furnish

him with a boat to return to his majesty, to translate the papers I had forwarded by Mr. Burnett. The two young gentlemen who visited me yesterday, called again this day about one o'clock, and brought some horses to shew me, which they rode themselves up and down the street before my door. The chobwah's son made me a present of one; they afterwards staid and dined with me, and went away late, seemingly well pleased with their entertainment.

*May 14.* Mr. Moncourtuse called upon me about nine A.M., and informed me, that he had been with the pacaam whoonghee agreeably to my orders; that he had informed him that the papers were ready, but that it was necessary they should be presented to the Enga Tekaing for his approbation, and directed him to call again about four o'clock, when he should have a final answer, and an order for a boat. As this answer was by no means satisfactory, and indicated a further delay in his despatch from thence, I ordered him to return again to the whoonghee, and point out the necessity of his being furnished with a boat without further delay. He returned again about twelve o'clock with much the same answer. In the afternoon the chobwah's son, and the engas's cousin, called on me; the young rajah brought me a present of an allegorical painting, the subject of which was the amorous adventures of a Siam

prince; but he did not seem to be a complete master of the story. He afterwards played at chess with me after the Burmhan mode, but lost every game; he bore his ill luck with a good grace, but when I attempted to teach him our game of chess, he was soon discouraged by his ill success and gave it up, as a business he was not capable of comprehending. The Burmhan mode is much less intricate, but they do not seem to be a people capable of giving much serious attention to any thing; novelty even charms but for the moment. They were very inquisitive to know why I had not been to see the Enga Tekaing, affecting ignorance of the cause. The frequency of their visits and conduct, gave me great reason to suppose that their chief business was to sound me as to my intentions and sentiments; I, therefore, availed myself of the opportunity of conveying my sentiments to the prince, through them, without reserve. They assured me that the courtiers were of opinion, that the prince might concede the contested point to me, and that they would make a party to represent the matter to him; or, in their language, to petition him on the subject. The truth of the story is, I fancy, that the wind is beginning to veer round, and the prince only wants a decent pretence for altering his former resolution, as he finds I am not likely to alter mine. They desired to see the fowling-

piece I intended to present to the prince, and left me with assurances of their reporting immediately to him all that I had said. In the evening Mr. M. called, and said he was going to the whoonghee according to his appointment. When he went away, suspecting the truth of his reports, I sent the mewjerry to the whoonghee's and the looto, to hear what might pass. The man returned with a confirmation of what I had heard before, that all Mr. M. had told me this day was a fabrication of his own, and that he had neither been with the whoonghee in the morning nor this evening. About half an hour after the mewjerry had returned, Mr. M. came to me as if from the fort, and told me another string of lies with the utmost intrepidity of countenance. I did not discover my doubts of his veracity, as I have no means at present of bringing the matter to a test.

*May 15.* In the morning early, I sent my moonshee with some pictures, &c., to the enga's whoon, and a written message, to inquire into Mr. Moncourtuse's conduct; and found that the reports were in part true and part false. In the forenoon the pacaam whoonghee sent for the mewjerry who attends me, to inform me, that some of the officers of the looto would wait on me to-morrow morning, with a message respecting my business, &c.; and that he had given orders for a boat for Mr. M.



*May 16.* I neither heard from or saw Mr. Moncourtuse this day, nor did the deputation from the looto come to me. In the afternoon I was visited by the chobwa's son, and the enga's cousin. They brought me a specimen of native fossil alkali, gathered in the adjacent mountains, which I analyzed according to the usual mode. They have sent out people to collect fossils for me, the loadstone in particular, of which I have found many fragments among the stones lately brought me. They dined with me, and enjoyed their fare with great glee.

*May 17.* Early in the morning I received a letter from Mr. Burnett, dated the 14th instant, at Keounmeoun, informing me of his being very kindly received and treated, by the mhee whoonghee, and of his having had the honour to present in person my presents to his majesty ; but that he was at a stand as to other business, on account of the absence of Mr. Moncourtuse. That vagabond has at last pretended sickness, in order to avoid going back to translate the memorials ; and having traced out several falsehoods, which he has been telling to the prejudice of my business, I have determined to preserve no terms with him. I therefore availed myself of the messenger's return, to write to Mr. Burnett, and to desire that he would acquaint the mhee whoonghee with the whole of Moncourtuse's villanous conduct and prevarication ; and to re-

quest that he will compel him to do his duty. This letter I sent off about four p. m. I begin now to suspect that Moncourtuse has received private instruction from the Yanghong government to impede, and, if possible, to obstruct, entirely my business ; I have, therefore, taken necessary measures to prevent his being further attended to by the members of government, and to have him punished. Since kind treatment avails me nothing, I shall pursue an opposite course, which perhaps is better calculated for this meridian.

*May 19.* About two p. m., Mr. Burnett returned : he brought me a complimentary letter from the mhee whoonghee, and informed me that his excellency had requested him to return, as it would be impossible to transact any business at his majesty's then place of residence ; but gave him the most positive assurances that every thing should be settled to my satisfaction, as soon as his majesty returned to Amarapoorah, which would be immediately that there was water enough over the flats in the river for his boats ; at present there was barely sufficient for a small boat. Mr. Burnett describes the country above Mheghoon as very rugged and barren : the distance of Keounmeoun from Amarapoorah he estimates at about forty-six miles, the course of the river nearly north and south, if any thing, a small inclination to the eastward of north. Monchabon is about eight miles

inland to the westward of Keounmeoun. He describes his majesty's accommodations as very wretched. What is called his palace, is a mere hut of bamboos thatched with straw, inferior to the shed I lived in while at Mheghoon, which afforded shelter neither against sun or rain. These huts, or as they are styled, by the Burmhans, travelling-palaces, are constructed at the end of every stage that his majesty makes; they are not begun until his boat puts to the shore, when they are finished in a few hours: he counted seven between Amarapoorah and Keounmeoun, and was informed there were five more higher up the river, so that he computes his majesty's excursion to have been 78 miles in extent. The king's grandson, and presumptive heir to the throne, had a hut of the same construction as that of his majesty, built near his grandfather's, to denote the equality of his rank, or rather the rank to which the dotage of his grandfather has raised him. He is about eleven or twelve years of age, has an extensive territory at his sole disposal, and a court composed of boys chosen from his playmates, who are denominated whoonghees, woondocks, &c.; the other princes of the blood are dispersed at short distances, above and below his majesty, and the army, if it may be so denominated, is scattered round them. If they amount to 10,000 men altogether, it is the outside, and Mr. Burnett informs me, they are the

same kind of wretched ill-armed rabble that I saw at Mheghoon. The service they have been employed in, was cutting down bamboos and fire-wood, and transporting it to Mheghoon. The hills on the west side of the river terminate about sixteen miles above Mheghoon, where commences a high plain, rugged and in general uncultivated, or unsusceptible of cultivation. He saw only one considerable village on his way, situated on the west bank: the eastern range of mountains extended beyond the limits of his journey. The morning after his arrival he was admitted to an audience of his majesty, whom he found seated on a common mat on the floor of his bungalow, with pillows covered with green elvet to lean upon. He was dressed in an open jamma of white cloth, a common silk ungee round his loins, his hair gathered into a knot on the crown of his head in the Burmhan tyle, without any handkerchief round his head. The courtiers and Mr. Burnett were arranged on the same level, but on the bare bamboos. The evee commenced before sun-rise, and as the vhoonghee and Mr. Burnett had to cross the river, it had begun before they arrived. The conversation had taken a religious turn, in consequence of the examination of some of the heads of keouns, or priests, which had passed the day before. It appears they had been found very



ignorant, and his majesty was much dissatisfied with them. Among the observations that were made by him on the subject, he said, that he feared too many resorted to a religious life from a love of indolence ; that he did not pretend to be learned in these matters himself, but, as the head of the religion of his dominions, it was his duty to see that those immediately intrusted with its rites were well informed ; and in consequence he gave orders that candidates for the superiorities of keouns should in future undergo a more strict examination. His courtiers maintained a humble and profound silence, except when occasionally answering in the affirmative. It appears that his majesty is much dissatisfied with the present state of religion in his dominions, and meditates some great changes. He has found the priesthood in general miserably ignorant ; even his arch-priest cannot satisfy his doubts. He says, they read over their canonical books, when they first enter on the monastic life, as a task imposed on school-boys ; and although they have no other employment to engage their attention, they never afterwards investigate or inquire into the mystical meaning of their rites ; so that they are totally unfit to instruct the people. Hence the various abuses that have crept into their religion ; the building of small pagodas, the use of beads, &c., all of which are cloaks for hypocrisy, and unauthorized

by the tenets of their ancient faith. These he means to forbid ; also the practice of the poonghees taking servants with them to carry the provisions they collect in the morning, and to restrain the number of poonghees. These severe strictures and meditated reforms alarm his courtiers very much : they dare not remonstrate, and are afraid to obey. Mr. Burnett informs me that his majesty is a hale-looking man, rather corpulent, with an arch and penetrating eye. He frequently glanced a look at his audience, as if he would read their minds. Religion has been the constant theme during this excursion, and has precluded all other business. He often looked at him, but asked no questions, when he was present. The levee lasted about two hours ; he then retired, and the court broke up. Sometime after Mr. Burnett was seated, the king's grandson came in and seated himself on his majesty's left hand. His majesty put his arm round him and kissed him. The prince of Prone's daughter seated herself on his right hand. She is the intended wife of the grandson, and their nuptials are soon to be celebrated. Three or four of the king's daughters also came into the court, bowed to the ground, and then seated themselves opposite his majesty, in a line with the mhee whoonghee. Mr. Burnett was seated in a line with the woondocks. After the king's levee, Mr. Burnett went with the whoonghee to

pay his respects to the grandson. He did not take off his shoes until within the shade of the hut. He informs me that he is a smart looking boy, was seated on a cot, seemed rather embarrassed, and asked no questions while he was there. If his majesty is ill-lodged, his courtiers are still worse off, and the situation of the poor rabble of soldiers miserable indeed; they have nothing to screen them from the weather but their own cotton clothes, supported on bamboos, and shiver like so many half-drowned rats during every shower. The whoonghee had only a miserable hut, about sixteen feet by twelve, surrounded by the walls of the tent I had given him; the whole court are disgusted with their situation and labour, and ardently sigh for his majesty's return; and, as his beloved grandson and many of the ladies of his family are sickly, it is expected he will move immediately that there is water for his boats. People are constantly employed in sounding the channel, and fixing marks where there is the deepest water. The whoonghee invited Mr. B. to club dinners with him, saying, if he would find cook, he (the whoonghee) would find provisions: however, in the end, Mr. B. was obliged to find both, for their bazar afforded nothing but a little rice, fetid oil, blatchong, salt fish, and a few poor mangoes. His excellency is of a convivial turn, acknowledged himself fond

of good living, and, among other things, he was desirous I should procure a couple of good cooks, and a book of cookery. But books and cooks would soon be useless, for the expense of one good dinner would frighten them from any further essay. Mr. Burnett translated my letters to the whoonghee, in particular the one respecting the Malabar shabunder, and his excellency promised that the Bengal emissary should not be admitted to an audience of his majesty. The shabunder, this emissary, and the Burmhan who came round with me from Bengal, arrived the same day with Mr. B. The next day the whoonghee urged Mr. B. to return, saying, it was impossible to get any thing done while his majesty was absent from Amarapoorah. In the course of his conversation he gave Mr. B. to understand, that he expected a gratification from me for doing my business; and his hopes were not discouraged. He had sounded my interpreter before on the subject, and highly praised the liberality of my predecessor, insinuating at the same time that I had been rather deficient in that respect. In short, the whole of them betray a most rapacious mean spirit. As Mr. B. could not remain longer without disobliging the whoonghee, and seeing the impossibility of doing any good by staying longer, he therefore very prudently determined to return.



Since the king has been up the river, a silver mine has been discovered by a Chinese a little above Mheghoon, which they say yields forty in a hundred ; but what the expense of working and fusing is I could not learn. A little above Mheghoon are cliffs of a very fine limestone, of which Mr. B. brought me specimens. Another anecdote I learnt is, that a poonghee dreamt, that near a certain tree there was a hidden treasure ; this he reported to his majesty, who immediately ordered a number of shafts to be sunk all round the tree ; but, to his great shame and mortification, he met with nothing but mud and water, and has at length been obliged to desist. Mr. B. saw the shafts ; the story I heard from another quarter.

*May 20.* I had intended sending Mr. Burnett this morning with a message to the pacaam whoonghee, but hearing from him that it was his turn to stay at the looto all day, I deferred sending Mr. B. till to-morrow. In the morning the chobwa's son, and enga's cousin, who I now find is a brother-in-law of the mayhoon, of Hunza-wuddy, called on me, and as they said, on business. I have before noted that I considered the frequent visits of these young men had business for their object. Accordingly, I now found it was to settle the price of my obtaining an audience of the prince on my own terms, under the pre-

tence of bribing some of the prince's courtiers, who were inimical to me: for their own part they wanted nothing; their friendship for me was perfectly disinterested, but they found that they could not effect the business alone. I soon convinced them of their error in supposing I would bargain for that which I had a right to demand; that so far from courting this audience, it had been delayed so long that it was become a matter of perfect indifference to me; and that if I did not see the prince in the course of this month, they might depend on it I should not wait on him at all. At the same time I expressed my regret that there should have been persons so great enemies to the reputation and interests of their country as to have advised the prince to treat me with such neglect. I desired them to assure him, notwithstanding, of the high respect I entertained for him, and that he would find me at all times devoted to his interest. I thanked them most cordially for the proof they had given me of their friendship, entreated them to believe I entertained no doubts of their sincerity, and only regretted that I could not be benefited by their services in the way they proposed, as I neither came to buy or beg favours. I asked them, in the course of the conversation, if they knew how much the mayhoon of Arrakan's writer paid to the Governor-General for his audience: this stag-

gered them; however, after a little hesitation, they rejoined, "but your case is different; you are a resident."—"Well, and pray what is a resident?"—"Why a resident is a governor, the same as the mayhoon of Hunzawuddy; you may hang people, &c., if you choose, and therefore you must pay for your commission." In truth, they seem altogether to have a very confused idea of the nature of my office. The king, in his messages, and when he speaks of me, calls me his resident; and among the number of wise proposals intended to be made me by the looto, is, that I shall take an oath of allegiance to his majesty, according to the Burmhan form. That is, I am to swallow a quantity of holy water, in which muskets, lances, and other warlike instruments have been immersed, in public, at the great pagoda, attended by the principal ministers, &c. A man had great need of patience in dealing with these people, who are the most ignorant, presuming, and rapacious set of beings that I ever met with.

*May 21.* In the morning early I sent Mr. Burnett, &c., with a message to the pacaam whoonghee, to represent the impropriety of my audience with the prince being so long delayed. He received him very kindly in an inner apartment of his house, and without any parade. Indeed dignity and state seem to sit very uneasy

on them, for they are never so happy as when out of their harness. He patiently heard my message, and had nothing to offer in reply, but the old hackneyed theme of custom, from which they could not deviate without a positive order from his majesty. At three P.M. I sent Mr. B. with a similar, but stronger, message to the engas' whoon. I was the more pointed in my language to him, as the only man who has a reputation for ability amongst them. Although he seemed to feel the force of my observation, yet he declared he did not dare venture to advise any relaxation on the part of the prince; but my information is too good to permit me to be duped by such declarations. I, therefore, shall persevere in the resolution I first formed; for concessions to a people so insensible to the rites of hospitality, and devoid of all liberal sentiment, would only stimulate their arrogance, rather than conciliate their affection. In the morning I received a visit from the chobwa's mother-in-law and wife; they came in their polkees, with a large train of attendants. They staid about an hour, gave proofs of a superior education, and left me apparently well pleased with their reception. About noon my two visitants, the chobwas, &c., called on me; the chobwa's son wanted to make a book of the country black slate-paper, and was a little angry because I would not cut up a botanical dictionary



to give him the cover. It was in vain that I endeavoured to convince him of the impropriety of the request, nor would he accept of any book but the one he had pitched on, because the gilt ornaments on the back had struck his fancy. They staid dinner with me, but the coarseness of their manners makes these invitations a great sacrifice; however, they are necessary evils, and must be submitted to. The river has risen five or six cubits.

*May 23.* In the morning I sent my interpreter to the enga's whoon, to inform him I intended addressing his royal highness the Enga Tekaing, on the subject of my audience. He expressed himself satisfied with my intention, and directed my interpreter to bring him the letter to the looto the next morning, when he would take care to have it faithfully translated in his presence, and forwarded by the proper officers to the prince. Mr. R. met the mayhoon of Hunzawuddy's brother-in-law at the whoon's. He carried him to his house, and expressed his concern, that he had always been from home when he had called. He approved much of my writing to the Enga Tekaing, and promised to call at my house in the evening, and consult with me on the business. This morning I received intelligence from court, that the malabar shabunder, after Mr. Burnett's departure, had presented two diamond rings to

the mhee whoonghee, and a letter or petition in favour of the man who had arrived from Bengal. That the whoonghee had received the rings, but rejected the letter, and ordered him never to apply to him again on the subject, as he would not permit the messenger to see his majesty. How true this intelligence is I cannot say, but I know that the parties, from whence it came, have it in their power to know the truth. The mayhoon's brother-in-law, and the chobwa's son dined with me by appointment; after dinner the other brother-in-law, and another of the enga's principal servants called. The subject of my pretensions, and the intended letter was discussed in great form, and the plan of operations settled; but the principal business of my new visitants was, to have ocular demonstration of my great abilities as a chemist, &c., the fame of which had gone abroad, that they might report my skill to the prince; relying greatly on it to turn the bias in my favour. I desired they might be told I pretended to no skill in those matters; that the experiments I made were merely amusements, and not worthy the attention of the prince; that the services I could render him were of a more important nature, such as related to war, finance, and commerce: however, they were so urgent, that I was obliged to indulge them with a few experiments with chemical solvents on mi-

neral ores, &c., with which they were much gratified, and left me with the strongest assurances of every support in their power. When they had left me they applied privately to my interpreter to know if I had any skill in the obstetric art, as one of the prince's favourite wives laboured under a complaint which baffled all the art of their practitioners. This is not the first time I have had occasion to regret the absence of my surgeon on the public account.

*May 24.* In the morning early, I sent my letter for the prince to his whoon at the looto. He told my interpreter, that at one P.M., he should send for Moncourtuse to translate it; and would send for him at the same time, that he might be present as a check on him. It appears, however, that Moncourtuse has been out all day, whether by accident or design I don't know; but it has prevented any thing being done to-day. About noon the chobwa's son, &c., called; the former had long expressed a wish to have an European suit of clothes, we therefore dressed him out to-day in a very gay style. He recalled to my mind Omai, whom I recollect having seen in England. Indeed there is a great resemblance between these people and the natives of the Malayan Islands, as they are generally called; but of that more hereafter, as I am not yet sufficiently prepared to discuss the various points of analogy.

My prince was extremely well pleased with his dress, and more so with our compliments on his appearance. He carried it home in great glee, and at night sported his finery among his female friends; who, no doubt, discovered new graces in his person, and with them new opportunities of paying him new compliments.

*May 25.* This being the day of the moon's change, is a holyday with the Burmhans; when they go to pay their devotions, and make offerings at the shrine of their divinities. Since the 10th of April I have regularly distributed alms every morning to 150 poonghees, according to the Burmhan custom; and at every full and change of the moon have had twenty-one poonghees to partake, as it is called, of a charitable feast. This morning, as usual, the appointed number came, my great hall was carpetted, and wooden trays arranged the whole length of the room, four for each poonghee; the first contained fried fish, bal-lehong, turtle eggs, curries, &c., dressed after the Burmhan style, made up in little plates of leaves; the second pancakes, and Burmhan sweetmeats; the third, mangoes and other sweetmeats; the fourth, bunches of plantains, a green cocoa-nut, betel leaves and nut, tobacco, chinam, &c. &c. After the poonghees had been seated a few minutes, their servants and scholars brought in the bowls which they carry in making their daily col-



lections of rice, &c.; these they placed before them; the mewjerry, who is my master of the ceremonies, then presented to the head poonghee, who was seated in the centre, two cups of water. Out of the first he took water to wash his mouth and drink. He then put the points of his fingers in the other, and prayed over it in a low voice; the mewjerry then took away the water, and my Burmhan attendants put the contents of the first row of trays into their bowls, which signified their acceptance of the feast. Their servants and scholars then took away the bowls, and the remainder of the trays to the outer verandah, to put the contents in baskets, and carry them away; the mewjerry, &c., then presented to the chief poonghee three trays, one with a pyramid of boiled rice on it, the other with fruit, and the third with betel, &c.; these he touched with the points of his fingers, and appeared to bless them; in turn they were presented to each of the poonghees, who performed the same ceremony; they were then put apart as consecrated, to be exposed near a temple, on an open altar, for the benefit of the crows and pian dogs; (this is one of the usages which his majesty ridicules and condemns). On these occasions the neighbours assist at the house where the feast is made. Several men and women were assembled at my house; these now advanced and kneeled in two groups before the line of

poonghees, the women to the right of the men: the mewjerry gave a few grains of parched paddy to each, which they held in their hands closed, with the palms together a little elevated, in a supplicating posture; they then repeated a prayer after the chief poonghee, in the manner of part of our service; the chief poonghee then prayed, the other poonghees placing their fans of palm-leaves before their faces, accompanying him; after this prayer was finished, the chief poonghee delivered a kind of lecture in an audible tone of voice—a lesson I suppose from some of their books of divinity, and, if I might judge from the chanting tone, was in a kind of metre. This lasted about ten or fifteen minutes, when they arose and walked off without ceremony. The river has fallen again three cubits.

*May 26.* In the morning my interpreter was sent for to be present at the translating of my letters to the Enga Tekaing. Moncourtuse translated it at two in the afternoon: I am informed it was delivered to the prince and read, but had no effect in my favour; but this I do not know officially. In the evening the chobwa's wife honoured me with a visit; she is an agreeable smart little woman, the daughter of a whoonghee, deceased. Her husband and his companion came just as she was going away; they drank tea, and invited themselves to dine with me to-morrow.

*May 27.* I sent my interpreter early in the morning to the mayhoon's brother-in-law, (he is married to the mayhoon's wife's sister, and immediately in the employ of the Enga Tekaing, and expects to be made one of his whoons or counsellors. The second is the mayhoon's wife's brother, and has some appointment in the queen mother's household,) with some trifling presents for him and his wife. He confirmed the report respecting my letter, which I had heard before, but, added, he would exert his best endeavours to induce the Enga Tekaing to alter his resolution. He further informed Mr. Rowland, that the demur was entirely owing to the enga's whoon, who wholly engrossed the prince's confidence, and was so avaricious, that unless I paid him handsomely I might depend on his opposing me to the utmost in his power. Here I have another proof of Moncourtuse's villany, he having reported the enga's whoon to me as a most immaculate man; undoubtedly with a view to prevent my adopting the only mode of conciliating him to my interests. The chobwa, &c., dined with me, and in the evening the chobwa's mother and wife with a large suite of attendants, male and female, paid me a formal visit, bringing with them a present of fruit. I hear that several vessels have arrived at Rangoon from Bengal, which affords me much pleasure, as it is now six months since I heard from thence.

*May 28.* I have been rather unwell these two or three days past: in the evening, while some dancers were performing in my hall, the mob threw stones at the sentinel at my front door. It should be noted, that the railing before my door has not been replaced, although repeatedly promised by the pacaam whoonghee, and the peon always leaves the house at sun-set, so that there was no one of the government people present to punish this insolence.

*May 29.* In the morning the enga's whoon sent for my mewjerry; about nine A. M., he returned and informed me, that he had brought the prince's answer to my letter; he then produced a piece of the common Burmhan black paper, with a line wrote on the top of it, and was going to read it but I prevented him, as I thought the mode and substance of this answer altogether informal. I, therefore, ordered him to return it, as I would not receive an answer through his hands. About eleven A.M. one of the common writers of the prince's whoon brought back the same paper, which I then ordered him to read; the words written on it were as follows: "According to the custom of the golden country, you may come;" and underneath the date. As I had addressed the prince with every respect due to his high station, and made up his letter in a golden bag, &c., according to the form of Hin-



dostan, I therefore thought myself entitled, at least, to equal politeness in return; and as this note contained neither address nor superscription, and as the mode of conveying it was altogether exceptionable, I, therefore, thought myself justified in refusing to receive it as an answer to my letter. I, therefore, desired that the bearer might be fully informed of my exceptions to the answer in its present form: that I expected it should be sent me by a proper person, made up in a manner suitable to my rank and station; addressed to me in my official capacity; that it should specify the manner of my being conducted to an audience of the prince, and be signed by authority. He returned with it, and about four p.m. came back with the engahoon's compliments, and instructed to inform me, that the note containing the prince's words, was written and sent according to the Burnhan customs; and that, as there was no other person in my station in the country, it needed no direction. Being perfectly aware that a submission to their insolent demeanour would, by no means, tend to advance the interests of my mission, I, therefore, declined receiving it for the same reasons assigned in the morning; notwithstanding I had convicted Moncourtuse before the engahoon of lying, had given him public notice, that he was not to credit any thing he

might say respecting me, and, notwithstanding the enga whoon himself had confessed that he was a bad man, and not to be trusted, yet, this morning he admitted him to breakfast with him in his private room, and sent out an excuse to the mewjerry, that he was indisposed: thence I have every reason to suppose that these two worthy persons are leagued together to weary my patience, or frustrate my views. Under these circumstances, I determined to adopt a different line of conduct in respect to Mon-courtuse; and, since kindness had had no influence on him, to work on his fears, as I know him to be a rank coward; I therefore sent Mr. B. to him, to tell him I was perfectly well informed of his base conduct towards me; that I had spies on him who regularly informed me of all he said or did; that I already considered myself deeply in his debt for what he had already done, and recommended to himself, if he had any value for his own safety, not to make me more so; for, he might depend upon it, if he did, I would take a severe revenge. I desired Mr. B. further to tell him, that all exculpation was in vain, for that he had proved so infamous a liar, that his words would no longer pass; his actions alone must speak for him. He listened to this message with evident marks of perturbation (fearing, perhaps, that part of the sentence was already about to be put in execu-

tion); he was very humble, yet protested his innocence. I hope this message will tend to keep the wretch in check; finding that his secret machinations are discovered, he may fear exasperating me too far, as he well knows his Burmhan friends will deny him in the hour of distress instead of supporting him.

*May 30.* People have been employed during the day in making a stage-wharf for his majesty to land on; I, therefore, hope he will soon be here. In the evening, Syed Ahamed Faken paid me a visit; he is a decent man in his appearance, a native of Bagdad; he informs me, that he has been eight years in Hindostan, has been these two last years at Chittagong, where he has erected a tuckeia, and is endeavouring to obtain an establishment. He offered to take any letters I might have to send to Bengal, as he proposes returning after the sacrifice of the bukra-ede, some days hence.

*June 1.* In the evening the king's jewel merchant visited me, his errand was to obtain some information respecting alchymy, in which the royal family, particularly the Enga, are dabblers; they have a high opinion of the medicinal virtues of the exploded elixirs, and conserves of precious stones and metals; I gave him some specimens of metallic salts, &c., and endeavoured, but in vain, to dissuade him from such illusive pursuits.

A number of people have been employed these last three days, in preparing sheds for the dancers, &c., and clearing the road from the water-side for his majesty's entrance. At night a great many boats belonging to his suite arrived, so that we may expect him hourly.

*June 3.* In the morning I sent Mr. Burnett to the enga's whoon, to ask him, finally, whether he would be my friend or not, as I am determined no longer to acquiesce in his equivocal conduct: to that end I gave Mr. B. a written statement of my sentiments, &c., containing nearly the same arguments as I had used to the mayhoon, and a diamond ring, the acceptance of which was to be considered as a pledge of his determining in my favour: the result of Mr. B.'s conference, which was private, was, that the whoon gave the strongest promises of supporting my interests and views to the utmost of his power. Mr. B. in returning, met the man Valerian, who had insulted me, as mentioned above; he immediately returned to the whoon, and acquainted him of his being in the fort. I had particularly insisted in my former message, that this man should be punished, and the whoon had promised he would seize him wherever he was to be found, unless protected by the king himself; and now promised to go immediately to the enga to obtain an order to the looto to have



him apprehended. Mr. B. saw Moncourtuse skulking about the whoon's house, both times he was there, but the whoon has solemnly promised me no longer to countenance him. About nine A. M., a message was brought from the looto, informing me that search had been made for Valerian, but that he was not in the fort, and that Mr. B. must have been mistaken in supposing he saw him. As not only Mr. B., but the interpreter, the orphan boys, and the servants who were with him, saw and recognised the man, I, therefore, sent the mewjerry to inform the members of the looto, that there could be no mistake; and that I should consider all declarations of that kind, on their part, as a subterfuge, and as a new proof of their unwillingness to do me justice. In consequence of this message, they have again sent, or pretended to send, in search of him. The truth is, they are afraid of bringing this matter to an issue, as the man is under the protection of the prince of Basseen; and I have some reason to think his protector was, in some measure, privy to the fraud he practised on me, as all the young men of the court are passionately addicted to liquor and intoxicating drugs, and employ secret agents to obtain them at any price, notwithstanding their being prohibited under pain of death. Whether the strictness of the prohibition provokes

appetite, or that they are naturally inclined to vice and voluptuousness, is a question I am not prepared to decide; but, I am inclined to think the latter is the truth, and that, if the reins of government were at all relaxed, their empire would soon be ruined, and the Burmhan name sunk into its original obscurity.

In the evening, the young chobwa and his associate called on me; he brought a female relation with him to hear the music, &c.; but, on this occasion, he offended against the rules of gallantry, for he took out of the young lady's betel box a love-letter in verse which had been sent her by one of her admirers, and, spite of all her intercessions, read it, and seemed to enjoy the poor girl's distress and confusion. As soon as he had returned the letter, she went away rather chagrined; I did not learn the cause till after they were both gone. It seems that all who aspire at gallantry in this country are obliged to court the muses, with what success I shall endeavour to learn; that they cultivate poetry, I knew before, having been promised the *History of Captain Symes's Embassy*, in verse, with several other pieces. At night, the king's moonshee arrived, he left his majesty at Mheghoon, where he is to remain till the twelfth of the moon.

June 4. This being His Majesty's birth-day, I

drank his health in a glass of claret: the chobwa and his companion dined with me. I was under the necessity of giving them a slight lecture on politeness before dinner, which had a good effect. One of the coach-makers' peons absconded, the other has but just recovered from the small-pox; otherways, notwithstanding my kindness to him, it is probable he would have gone also, for the lower class of the natives of India are in general head-strong in their folly, and little attached by gratitude. They want to return to Calcutta by the way of Chittagong, and are too impatient to wait until I can obtain a regular permission for them.

*June 5.* Having determined to ornament the front of my house in honour of his majesty's entrance, I have had people employed in preparing the scaffolding, &c., accordingly. The pacaam whoonghee and other officers attend all day at the river-side, to superintend and expedite the temporary palaces, &c., erecting there for his majesty and the royal family. In the evening, as Mr. Burnett was riding by the river-side, one of the cooleys struck his horse a smart blow with a rattan; I suppose it to have been a piece of wanton impertinence, proceeding from ignorance, rather than deliberate malice; however, to avoid any insult of the kind again, I have desired him to restrain his excursions until such time

as his majesty arrives and regulates these matters.

*June 6.* In the morning early, just as I was going to send my interpreter to the pacaam whoonghee, he sent for him. Mr. Rowland found the old man and the woondock up to their middles in water, encouraging the men employed about the landing-jetties. The cause of his sending for Mr. Rowland was, to know what decorations I meant to place before my house, saying, I must not use gold or silver, as those were appropriated for the royal family: he also desired that I would not permit my sentinels to carry their arms while his majesty was passing. Mr. Rowland then informed him of the insult offered to Mr. Burnett the evening before. He expressed his sorrow, and desired Mr. Rowland to call on him at noon, when he would inquire further into the affair. I sent Mr. Rowland at noon, but the old gentleman had retired to rest: the whoonghee did not return to the fort till late in the evening; so much do these people stand in awe of their sovereign, the highest of them performing, occasionally, the most menial offices. In the evening the white elephant arrived. This is a beast of great consequence.

*June 7.* In the morning I sent my interpreter, Mr. Rowland, to the pacaam whoonghee, to inform him, that I should with pleasure comply



with his request respecting the sepoy, but, as a stranger, &c., I must be allowed to decorate my house in what manner I choose. In respect to the insult offered Mr. Burnett, I only advised him of the circumstance, that he might publish orders, so as to prevent any thing of the kind happening again. In reply he said, I might ornament my house as I pleased; that he was sorry I had not sent the offender to him to be punished. He requested Mr. Burnett might continue his exercise, and in future to punish on the spot any insolence offered him, or seize the offenders, and send them to him.

*June 8.* At one o'clock at night, the pacaam whoonghee passed by, on his way to the water-side, and sent word to inform me, that his majesty would arrive early in the morning. At six A.M., I received advice, that his majesty had arrived at the upper landing-place, about two miles to the northward, there not being water enough for his boat at the lower one. About nine A.M., the Enga Tekaing passed by, on his way to meet his father; at ten, the gun fired as a signal for his majesty's landing. About half-past ten, the head of the procession began to pass by; first, a string of his majesty's elephants; next, a body of foot soldiers, each with a rusty musket on his shoulder, clothed like the common people of the country; they marched, or rather walked,

in two Indian files, without any regularity; next followed the king's grandson, on a very lofty elephant; he sat on the neck of the elephant, and held the guiding-hook himself, but in fact the animal required no guiding. A well-dressed mohaut sat behind him, and supported him in his arms. The young prince was naked from his waist upwards, having on only a silk lungee, and an embroidered handkerchief on his head, gold bangles on his ancles and wrists, and several chains set with stones, &c., on his neck. After him came several gilt palkees, with women of the palace, &c.; at a distance behind him followed a son of the king's by a favourite concubine, on a small elephant, which he guided himself; after him followed five of the king's elephants, with war-howdahs, having large shields on each side of the howdah, painted red and gilt; then followed his majesty's troopers in their war-dress, but very shabby, and on wretched, half-starved, small horses, of these there might be sixty or eighty; then several gilt, brass three-pounders, on field-carriages, drawn by men, with several red-painted and gilt ammunition carts, drawn by two horses each; on each side after these marched foot soldiers, armed and clothed as those before mentioned; then followed the carriage I brought, drawn by men; and immediately after it, his majesty with the first queen

in his old carriage, drawn by four led horses; the blinds down. He laughed, and spoke out loudly while passing, seeming well pleased with my attention. I was seated in a chair at the door of the hall, and when he came in front I rose up, took off my hat, bowing and placing my hand on my breast; Mr. Burnett and Mr. Rowland standing on either side, and bowing at the same time. The rest of my suite were arranged on either hand of the verandah. Before the front of my house I had made a railing of bamboo lattice-work, covered on the outside with yellow cloth, and over it gold and silver tange was spread; immediately in front of the veranda, was a portico forty-eight feet long, covered on the top with scarlet cloth, hanging down towards the front about three feet, with gold tange along the front, dropping about two feet below the red cloth. The bamboo pillars, &c., covered with yellow silk, and a screen of yellow silk curtains along the front of the verandah, so as entirely to cover the piers, leaving the doors open. The house was also newly white-washed, and the road levelled and sanded before the door; and just before his majesty passed, I had the road strewed with gold-leaf: the crowd were kept clear of the front by a Burmhan peon; and on the whole, for this place, we made a very fine show. The intent, however, was every thing, and it being

wholly unexpected. He was highly gratified, saying aloud to his courtiers, "Ah, this is the company, that is my Resident," and kept his eyes on me the whole time he was passing. On each side his majesty's carriage marched spearmen, and it was surrounded by a crowd of his courtiers, &c. &c.; immediately after it, followed foot soldiers, troopers, and war-elephants, but the whole too irregular and insignificant to make any impression on me. After his majesty, came the Enga Tekaing on horse-back, preceded and followed by foot-soldiers and spearmen, and surrounded by his particular servants. He looked towards me till he came immediately opposite, and then affected to turn his head another way. I rose and bowed to him as he passed. After him came a number of gilt palkees, with the queens and concubines, each with their particular female servants; young princes carried on men's shoulders, with gilt umbrellas over them; and hackeries variously decorated with women of the palace. About half-past eleven the prince of Prone passed on horse-back, with something less state than the enga. He looked steadfastly at me the whole time he was passing, and I rose and bowed to him. I waited half an hour longer for the other princes; when, hearing they had taken another road, I ordered money to be distributed among the crowd, and retired. The



whole of this procession was very irregular, and the paraphernalia much below what I expected. In the intervals, between the passing of the several persons of the royal family, the crowd could hardly be kept within bounds by my peon; but, when any of the royal family approached, they flew like so many shadows crouching to the ground. I also observed, that the gilt chattres, servants, and carriages, were obliged to make several trips for the inferior branches of the royal family. There might be altogether about 100 elephants in the procession, but some of them very small, and most of them very poor, and meanly equipped. The foot-guards could not amount to more than five or six hundred men altogether, and the troopers to sixty or eighty.

*June 9.* In the morning I sent my interpreter to congratulate the mhee whoonghee on his safe arrival. He informed him, that he was very unwell, and wished to see me, as he should have but little leisure when able to go to the looto and palace. Immediately on hearing this, I sent to inform him, that I would do myself the pleasure of waiting on him; when he wished to excuse himself to the messenger for that day, saying, his house was not prepared to receive me. I, however, sent word back, I should come to see him privately as a friend, and required no ceremony. I accordingly went to his house, and

was introduced into his private room, where I found him lying on a mat; another was placed for me to sit on, near him; they also gave me a pillow to lean on. There were present his eldest son, a dark, stout young man, and his two wives; the rest of the room was covered with coarse, common mats, and without any decoration or furniture. After the usual compliments, he informed me how he had treated the Bengal messenger, and promised to send me the name of his principal. He was very affable and full of professions of friendship, saying, in their loose way of talking, my business was done, &c. This being the day of an eclipse of the moon, it gave occasion for a conversation on those subjects, and he expressed a great desire of learning astronomy from me, (or rather astrology). I told him we did not study the science with a view to calculate nativities, &c., but to foretel and explain the phenomena of nature, and that I should be happy to instruct him, as far as my own limited knowledge would permit. He directed his son to cultivate my acquaintance, saying, such persons rarely come to our country, and we should therefore endeavour to benefit by their society while they stay. He offered me half his house, (which is very commodious and well-built), if I chose to come and live with him. He also desired I would come and stay all next day with him, and bring

my dinner, as he loved our style of living; and, in short, used every endeavour, according to their ideas of politeness and coarse manners, to convince me of his friendship. I drank tea with him, and gave him a bottle of peppermint, shewing him how to use it, &c. He is troubled with a bowel complaint and vomiting, arising from a too free indulgence with mangoes, and other excess; but, to attempt to treat the complaint in our manner, might be attended with dangerous consequences; and the peppermint may check the inclination to vomit, and can do him no harm. About twelve at noon I left him. I also sent in the morning to inquire after the health of the pacaam whoonghee, who informed my interpreter, that his majesty was very well pleased with my attention on the day of his entrance.

*June 10.* About eight A.M., agreeably to my promise, I waited on the mhee whoonghee, and was detained for some time in the outer audience-hall, which was excused by saying, they were preparing the inner room. When desired to go to the inner room, I found that the only preparation made was, spreading two long, narrow mats, one in front for me, the other for Mr. Burnett and the principal persons of his family. His excellency was still under the hands of the barber in a distant corner of the room; when shaved, he came and seated himself at a

considerable distance to my left, in front. I was pleased to observe, he appeared much better this day, and said he had taken of my medicine, and derived much benefit from it. In coming to the house, my people saw Moncourtuse in the compound. His excellency had promised he should attend this morning to translate my memorials. However, it soon appeared that he had forged a story, to induce his excellency to let him go. His excellency telling me, that Moncourtuse had informed him that I was angry with him, and did not wish to see him; he added, that I ought in policy to keep friends with him until my business was finished, as there was no other person so capable of translating my papers. As it was easy to perceive which way his excellency leant, and knowing how naturally they were inclined to procrastinate from a hope of obtaining more presents, I therefore thought it prudent to say nothing of obtaining another interpreter at present, and to adopt his advice with the best grace possible; I therefore first opened my mind very freely in respect to Moncourtuse, and told him, it was my firm opinion that nothing but rigid treatment would keep him in due subjection: however, out of deference to his excellency's wishes, I would forget all that was past, on condition of his, (Moncourtuse's), proceeding with the translations without further



delay. This concession seemed to please him, and he promised that he should attend at his house early the next morning. He was also pleased to promise, I should have a copy of the letter that had been brought from Bengal, and that he would also deliver up the bearer to me to do as I pleased with him. These people seem to have no idea of the turpitude of lying. Yesterday he positively told me, he had torn the letter without reading it; this, however, I knew to be false, as a servant of mine had actually obtained the perusal of the original; but this was not a time to take notice of such disgraceful contradictions. After about two hours' conversation on various topics, he ordered a bed to be placed for me in his outer hall of audience, telling me I should be more at my ease there, as it was a long time to dinner, or that I might take a walk to view the fort, &c. Willing to humour him, I had determined to pass the day in his house; however, finding the outer hall a common rendezvous for all comers, I availed myself of the opportunity of his calling me to him again in the inner room, to say that I would take a ride, and would return before dinner. On leaving him, I therefore returned home. At half-past three I returned with Mr. Burnett, &c., to the whoonghee's house: when I arrived I was shewn into the outer hall, and told, that his excellency

was bathing, I therefore seated myself very contentedly; however, sometime afterwards, seeing strangers admitted into the inner room, and not liking my then situation, I desired that the whoonghee might be informed that I had been some time in the house. I was then told he was busy in private consultation with some of the principal officers of the palace. Finding that they would not inform him of my being arrived, and more strangers coming into the hall, I determined to return home, as the best means of convincing them that I was not pleased with such disrespectful treatment; but ordered my interpreter to remain, and present the dinner I had prepared, with my respects to the whoonghee, and to say, that I supposed his excellency was engaged for the day, and therefore I would wait on him some other time. I had not, however, proceeded far, when my interpreter came galloping after me; telling me, the whoonghee had sent several of his servants after me, to beg I would return, and to excuse him; the fault proceeding entirely from his servants, who had not informed him that I was at his house. He further informed me, that the whoonghee was in a violent rage with his servants; had come out himself to the outer verandah, and told them, if I did not return he would take off some of their heads; adding, "do you wish me to lose my head?"

what would his majesty say, if he knew that the Resident had left my house in this manner?" As I only wished to make him sensible of the neglect, and prevent any thing of the kind happening again, I therefore returned, and was immediately admitted into the inner room, when I perceived the whoonghee much agitated indeed. He repeatedly requested of me to excuse him; that the fault was entirely his servants', as he was in fact asleep, and none of them came to acquaint him of my arrival. (The truth is, he is so severe and arbitrary, that they hardly dare speak to him). I of course softened every thing, and dinner opportunely arriving, we adjourned to the other room to partake of it. Every thing was furnished by me, but the floor on which the tablecloths were spread, and the mats we sat on. He admired every thing, but was particularly pleased with a roast pig, and the bread, of which he requested I would send him a loaf every day, which I readily promised. Passion had quite taken away his appetite, he therefore requested I would let his servants put by some of the dishes for him: I gave them the whole, on which his excellency with his wives afterwards regaled in private. Out of compliment to their prejudices, I did not take any wine. A few minutes after the cloth was removed, he begged leave to retire, when I also took my leave, and returned home.

Immediately after I was out of his court-yard, he had his gates shut, with an intention, as surmised by my mewjerry, to punish some of his people. A Portuguese arrived in a war-boat from Rangoon, brought me the welcome news, that a packet from Bengal for me had arrived there, and that my surgeon was on the eve of setting out to join me, when he left Rangoon; and, as he had been greatly delayed on the road, I might expect him in a few days.

*June 11.* In the morning early, I sent his excellency a dish of buttered rolls for breakfast, for which he returned thanks. At ten A.M., no summons arriving for Mr. Burnett, &c., who were to attend with the papers for translation, I therefore sent him with a message to the whoonghee, importing the necessity of his exacting a rigid obedience from Moncourtuse. They were admitted to the whoonghee, who told them, he was so unwell, that he begged to be excused talking on business that day: there being no appearance of Moncourtuse's attending, Mr. Burnett returned. In the evening I sent the whoonghee two dishes of our cookery by my interpreter, which gave him an opportunity of explaining to him some improper conduct of his servants to Mr. Burnett, which had been falsely represented to him. He gave him two peons, to go in search of Moncourtuse, and gave positive orders that



he should be brought the next day. The young chobwah dined with me, and in the evening one of the officers of the palace paid me a visit.

June 12. The peons found Moncourtuse at the Enga Tekaing's rhome, where he was standing a suit of *crim. con.* He begged them to excuse him for that day, and promised faithfully to attend at the whoonghee's the next morning. The whoonghee is also said to be much worse than before: thus another day is lost.

In the evening I rode to the ground where Captain Symes, &c., lived while attending this court. Their bungabows were built on the skirts of a pleasant grove, and on the south margin of a small lake, about one mile in a direct line distant from the fort: the situation was very pleasant, and such as I should prefer were I to reside here. In returning I took a long circuit to the eastward, and along the north side of the fort. Early in the morning the whoonghee's people sent to inform me, that Moncourtuse was attending. I sent off Mr. Burnett and my interpreter immediately, but, before they arrived, the whoonghee's writers had suffered Mr. Moncourtuse to go, under pretence of his being particularly wanted to translate some papers for the Enga's whoon, promising faithfully, however, to attend early the next morning. These particular papers, I afterwards found, was a paltry French novel, with

cuts, which the whoon wanted explained; thus another day is lost.

*June 14.* In the morning early I sent my interpreter with a message, and a diamond ring to the whoonghee. He had admittance to him, and found him much better: he appeared much pleased with the message, &c., and requested to see me the next morning early. Moncourtuse excused his attendance this day, under pretence of a complaint in his bowels: thus another day is lost. In the evening two of the whoonghee's head writers came to request I would send him another bottle of peppermint, having found great benefit from the last. I gave them all I had, half a bottle. They also informed me, that they were sent to see if Moncourtuse was really ill or not, and repeated his excellency's request to see me the next morning.

I rode to view the southern suburbs of the city, and a new religious building of the pacaam whoonghee's; it is of masonry, of a mixed style, half Burmhan, half European; being plastered and terraced, with a kind of Tuscan pilastres and cornice. The capitals, mouldings, battlements, and door frames, &c., decorated with gilding and painting. One of the keouns for the poonghees, is very highly finished, according to the Burmhan taste: the whole of the buildings cover a large extent of ground on both sides of

the road, and must have cost him at least two lack of ticals.

*June 15.* About eight A.M., I went to the mhee whoonghee's house, agreeably to my promise; I was immediately admitted to his inner audience-room, where I found him sitting on a round, dirty palat or pad, of quilted broad cloth, leaning against one of the centre pillars of the room, dressed in a soiled silk lunghee; a common muslin head fillet, or handkerchief, but without any banyan; this is the ordinary style of dress from the highest to the lowest, within doors: a common mat, edged with coarse red cotton cloth, was placed for me, close to the other centre pillar (there are two in this room which support the roof). He appeared much better, and highly extolled the peppermint I had sent him, and said he held it so precious, that he only took five drops instead of thirty, as I had prescribed. He sent for the bottle to take a dose before me; but, instead of five, he at least took sixty drops. I mention this as a proof among ten thousand of the looseness of this people's conversation. They will affirm a thing as a fact one moment, and prove it a lie the next. A desultory conversation took place, and several people came in to talk to him on business, mostly respecting the revenues; to plead inability of fulfilling their contracts, and assign reasons

for the defalcation. His excellency requested my permission to go and eat his breakfast, and retired to a corner of the room behind me for that purpose; it was served up in coarse red lacquered trays, not better in appearance or quality than forms the fare of a common retail merchant who lives next door to me; being a large plate of coarse-boiled rice, with two or three cups of vegetable and fish curries sliced, cocoa-nut, and blatchong. He continued talking, during his meal, to various suitors who came in, and who maintained the same posture all the time they were speaking. After his meal, he rinsed his mouth with, and drank, water; he then smoked tobacco out of a pipe, the tube a perforated bamboo, five or six feet long, ornamented with a mouth-piece of gold, the bowl of earthen-ware hooped with silver; the tobacco-leaf was unmanufactured, and broken into small pieces to fill the bowl, with a live coal of wood placed on it; after he had finished his pipe, he returned to his former seat. Three men were brought before him unshackled, accused of having robbed and murdered one of the collectors of the revenue; they appeared as unconcerned as if they had only been brought on some common business. The principal, an ill-looking young man, answered his interrogations with the usual tokens of respect, but with firmness; looking him in the face



all the time ; when ordered to retire, they retreated backwards, their bodies bent all the time. Mr. Moncourtuse was now called in, and, notwithstanding all that had passed, as graciously received as the best ; he is as servile in his prostrations as the most menial Burnhan, prefacing his responses, or addresses, with your slave, my lord (pran keundo) ; the whoonghee ordered him to set about the translations immediately, and to get them finished by the next evening ; but another demur now occurred on account of the absence of his excellency's writer. During this delay, I wished to have spoken to his excellency on the subject of the memorials, &c., and requested that he would indulge me with a few moments' private conversation ; he excused himself by saying, the people present (a falsehood by-the-by,) were of consequence, and that he could not desire them to withdraw with propriety, and desiring to defer my discussion of the memorials until they were translated. As I was not very well pleased with this reply, I requested to know, why his excellency had desired to see me this morning ? As he knew not how to answer this question, he evaded it, by asking what was the reason that broad-cloth was so scarce at present at Amarapoorah ? And requesting to know if I had any to dispose of. I desired his excellency might be told (what, indeed, he well knew) that

I was no merchant ; that I suppose the scarcity of European articles arose from the suspense of the English merchants during my negotiations ; but that, as soon as my business was satisfactorily settled, he might depend on seeing a great change in every respect for the better. He then came more immediately to the point, saying the king's grandson wanted some scarlet broad-cloth, to make a curtain for the house of the expected white elephant, and requested to know if I could spare him any. I desired he might be told, that I had every wish to oblige the royal family, and had given so many proofs of it, that it was unreasonable to expect more until they gave proofs on their part of a desire to oblige me ; he rejoined, that every body should comply with the desires of the young prince, being so great a favourite of the king's ; that he was impatient of any delay ; when he wanted a cup, for example, he never ceased calling out, "A cup, a cup, a cup," until he was gratified. I desired he might be told, it was in his power to accelerate his gratification by expediting my business ; when that was done, he might expect every thing from my gratitude, but nothing more before. To beg this cloth was, in fact, the purport of his sending for me ; and now, finding me so impracticable, he told me he would not detain me any longer ; that Mr. Burnett, and my interpreter, might remain,

and he would give effectual orders for expediting the translations; I, therefore, took my leave and retired. In the evening, Mr. Burnett, &c., returned, and informed me that they had got through the first and second memorial. This day the whoonghee went to the looto for the first time since his return from Keoun-meoun. Mr. Moncourtuse promised to be at the whoonghee's very early next morning, but said, if he was not provided with tea, &c., he should go and breakfast with the enga's whoon; through the favour of this patron, he had ousted the plaintiff in the suit of *crim. con.* brought against him, and even obtained damages. He had also gained considerably from the same shameful partiality, by pleading causes in the enga's court. Some idea may be formed of the officers of these courts by their patronising a man whom they, and all, pronounce a scoundrel.

June 16. Early in the morning, I sent Mr. Burnett and my interpreter to proceed with the translations; that they might proceed without interruption, I took care to have them amply provided with breakfast and dinner. I forgot to mention, that yesterday, while they were about the translations, the whoonghee came to them, and told Moncourtuse to endeavour to get some scarlet cloth for him: this was spoke aloud, so that Mr. Burnett. &c., might hear it, and is an

instance of the meanness and low cunning that pervades all their actions, from the highest to the lowest ; the same injunctions were repeated this day. At four P. M. Mr. Burnett returned, and informed me that all the translations were completed; it only remained to make a fair copy of the Burmhan writing, which was to be done next day.

Mr. Moncourtuse in translating, whenever he came to the word I, or me, under pretence that there was no other mode of rendering it politely, constantly introduced the term " praw kuendo," which he averred, meant your humble servant, but, in fact, literally means your lordship's slave: I, therefore, thought proper to speak of myself, wherever I, or me, occurred in the third person, as the Resident, or the Representative of the Governor-General, for the term his majesty uses to designate me, is Gogouncy, or, the Company; and as he has given the same title to a scoundrel of a Mussulman, (Bhoodhim), who has purchased from his courtiers the exclusive privilege of trade at Rangoon, and has been practising a thousand infamous tricks there, I, therefore, do not mean to admit the use of the term, Gogouncy, as a proper designation for me; and trust, the honourable the Governor-General, &c., will approve of my tenaciousness on these points.

*June 17.* This being the Burmhan sabbath, or



the third quarter of the moon, the whoonghee's writer did not attend during the day, but called on me in the evening, and promised to get the fair copy finished to-morrow. The inhabitants of the king's street, where I live, have been ordered to decorate the front of their houses, and fill their shops with goods, preparatory to the entrance of the Assamese princess. I had a visit this morning from the woondock, Moinqhioqhine's wife. In the evening the pacaam whoonghee set off by water, to escort the Assamese princess to court; the third whoonghee has been some time absent on a journey to Tongher, to escort to court, a sacred white elephant, lately caught. The mhée whoonghee remains to conduct the business of the empire; this marks his consequence, and the confidence reposed in him by his sovereign; he, in fact, is nearly as absolute as his master, often passing capital sentences without reference.

*June 18.* I was obliged to send this day to spur the whoonghee's head writer, to hasten the fair copy of the memorials; nothing can be done but by feeling from the top to the bottom of the list. A small squadron of merchant boats arrived from Rangoon; by them, I had a confirmation of the news of my surgeon's having arrived, but they could not tell me when he would set off to join me. They left Rangoon the 23d of

May, and were twenty-five days on the passage.

*June 21.* In the morning, the whoonghee's writers brought me the fair Burmhan copy of the memorials; I gratified them for their diligence, and sent it to the whoonghee. This day the two white elephants arrived, and as all the great officers, &c., were obliged to attend at court on so momentous an occasion, of course I could not expect any attention to my business; the mhee whoonghee, however, sent me word, that he expected to be at leisure the 23d, when he should be happy to see me.

*June 22.* Early in the morning the somba (or third) whoonghee passed by from the fort, with several officers of the court, troops, &c., it being expected that the Assamese princess would arrive in the course of the morning; she did not arrive, however, yet several of the inhabitants were punished for not having their houses in readiness.

*June 23.* The whoonghee was summoned to the palace early this morning, and kept waiting there with the whole court till three in the evening. About six in the evening, he sent his son to apologize for his not seeing me, and to express his hopes of being able to see me to-morrow. The Assamese princess did not arrive; it is supposed the pacaam whoonghee delays her arrival, to give full time for preparation.

*June 24.* This morning the Assamese princess came, and was lodged in the temporary bungalow (palace erected for her on the banks of the river), where she is to remain until the lucky hour arrives for her introduction to his majesty.

*June 25.* I received a message from his majesty, requesting I would ornament the front of my house the day of the procession, and informing me, that it would take place the next morning. This I had previously intended doing, and had made preparations accordingly ; people from court passing all day with various presents of refreshments, &c., on gilt trays, for the Assamese princess. About noon, I received a visit from the whoon of the first queen ; he is a man of the first influence in the haram, and had been to see the princess by order of his majesty, and was returning to make his report of her person, manners, &c. He made me a frank tender of his friendship, and promised to use his influence with his royal mistress to promote the objects of my mission, which I received with due acknowledgments, and had the satisfaction to perceive he was much gratified by his reception.

About three P. M., Mr. Keys, surgeon, arrived from Rangoon, he had only been eighteen days on his passage ; by him I had the satisfaction to receive a great number of European and other letters, with Indian papers up to the beginning

of April: also, information that Zemaun Sha had retired to his own country; and that the honourable the Governor-General had returned in good health to Calcutta. I had not, however, the happiness of receiving the smallest intelligence from government. By him I also received the petitions of the Rangoon merchants, relative to the oppressions they have suffered through the intrigues of Bhoodhim.

*June 26.* Early in the morning the queen mother, in a superb palkee of state, borne by thirty-six men, and attended by a great number of the ladies of the palace in their palkees, passed by on their way to accompany the Assamese princess to court; also a party of troopers, musketeers, spearmen, &c. The fronts of all the houses in the high street, through which the procession is to pass, are ornamented with verandahs of bamboos and mats, so constructed as to form a double roof open towards the street, ornamented with painted borders; and the shops filled with their best goods, which were to be sold to the princess's retinue at reduced rates. Cannon were planted at all the cross streets; plaintain trees and sugar canes planted on each side the street, and the street clean swept. About half past seven A.M. the procession began to pass by. First in order were spearmen, then musketeers, then Burmhan brahmins, then music, then state chattres of a parti-



cular construction, then the queen mother's state equipage of beaten gold, then the queen mother in her state palkee, very high and large; on the platform of the palkee two young women richly dressed knelt in front, and two in the rear, facing inwards, with their hands closed palm to palm, and raised to their foreheads, in the Burmhan mode of paying homage. Men bearing gilt chattrés surrounded the palkee. After the queen mother's palkee followed a small body of cavalry, then spearmen and musketeers, then men carrying the princess's dowry, consisting of elephants' teeth, jasper-stones, Assamese arms, chests of clothes, bedding, &c. &c.; then followed several Assamese bramins, with white turbans, and long white jammahs. Then two woondocks, and several other Burmhan officers; then women dressed in white, beating large tom-toms, with crooked silver soontahs, others sounding silver trumpets of various forms, others playing on silver cymbals; then followed the princess's state equipage of beaten gold; then the princess in a superb state palkee, borne as the queen mother's, with two young women kneeling in front and rear; the curtains were of Chinese flowered gauze, so that she might see without being seen: immediately after her followed another party of Burmhan horse, then about twenty palkees, with court ladies, and the whole was closed by musketeers, spearmen,

&c. The front of my house was ornamented, and Burmhan dancers and musicians exhibited in the front verandah. I had my breakfast-table placed in the front verandah, at which we were seated when the procession passed.

*June 27.* I have had advances made to me these two or three days past from several persons belonging to the first queen's household; also intimation of the favourable sentiments entertained of me by the Engai Tekaing.

*June 28.* I forgot to mention, that I received by Mr. Keys, a very polite and friendly letter from the mayhoon of Hunzawuddy. He shewed Mr. Keys a good deal of attention, while at Rangoon and gave him a guard for his boat.

*June 29.* In the morning the king's grandson sent me an electrical machine, and requested me to put it in order for him, which I soon did, and got it to work very well. He then sent to request I would let Mr. Keys and Mr. Burnett go to the palace to shew him some experiments with it. As I did not approve of the mode in which the message was communicated I sent my interpreter to him with the machine, with my best respects, and a present of a fowling-piece, and a hottle of English comfits; and desired him to inform the prince, that it would always give me much pleasure to gratify his wishes, but that as the gentlemen of my family were not menials, it was neces-

sary they should be treated with attention ; that they would wait on him at any time if he would send some persons of rank of his household to conduct them, and prevent them being treated with rudeness by the guards or servants of the palace ; also that they might not be required to take off their shoes before they came to the palace. He returned a very polite answer ; said that my wishes should be complied with, as far as lay in his power ; but that as the palace was not his, he hoped I would waive something out of friendship for him until he could obtain permission of his grandfather for the whole.

*June 30.* Yesterday the mhee whoonghee sent to apologize to me for the delay in my business, owing to the ceremonies, &c., attending the arrival of the Assamese princess. He said he wished to see me, but was afraid in case he was called away to the palace that I might be offended. This concession from so haughty a man is a proof that I have already impressed them with some sentiments of respect, and induces a hope that in time business may be transacted with them without degrading humiliations on our part. About half-past one P. M., the young prince sent two officers of his household to conduct Mr. Keys and Mr. Burnett to the palace : they were instructed to assure me, that they should be received with attention, and that they were to be allowed to keep on their

shoes until they came to the third or inner court of the palace. As I thought this a fair opportunity of cultivating an acquaintance with the young prince, and thereby obliging his grandfather, who doats on him, I therefore determined to waive a part of what I had stipulated for; but at the same time gave Mr. Keys a written message to the prince, informing him, that I yielded in the present instance, through motives of friendship for him, but that I fully relied on his promise of applying to his majesty to permit us in future to come to the palace without taking off our shoes, &c.

When they arrived at the third gate, they were met by two of the mhee whoonghee's sons, who conducted them to a room erected for the occasion, spread with carpets, with a kind of throne: the young prince was seated, and the courtiers, among whom were three illegitimate sons of the king, and nine others of the royal family, were seated in regular order on the floor; a great number of guards and domestics without. The young prince listened attentively to my message, expressed himself much satisfied with the proof I had given him of my friendship, and desired I might be assured he would make a point of obtaining from his grandfather the concession I wished for. Mr. Keys then began to shew the experiments on electricity as drawing sparks, giving shocks under various circumstances, and firing spirits. They



were highly delighted and astonished, and unequivocally confessed the superiority of our attainments. During the whole time they behaved with great politeness and attention to Mr. Keys and Mr. Burnett, who left the room about five o'clock; but as they were going out the young prince sent to know if they would like to see his white elephant, and on their going to its stable, or rather palace, according to the Burmhan court style, he went himself to the place by another route, as a further mark of his attention. On the whole, both parties seem to have been mutually pleased, and I hope the interview will be attended with favourable consequences.

*July 2.* In the morning I sent my interpreter to inquire of the mhee whoonghee whether any progress had been made in my business. He sent me word in return, that his majesty had hitherto been so much engaged with his new queen, the white elephant, and the poonghees, that all public business had been neglected; that, however, he hoped to have an opportunity of delivering my memorials to-morrow, and therefore would be glad to see me early the next morning, that we might read them over before he went to the palace. I have been using every endeavour in my power, for these some days past, to convey through various channels to his majesty my impatience of further delay.

*July 3.* At eight A. M. I went to the whoonghee's with Mr. Keys; there were several people with him. He reclining in haughty savage state on his mat, *en deshabille*, as usual. After the usual compliments, he asked me if I had brought the letters, a mere affectation of ignorance, as he well knew they had been in his own possession three weeks before. At first he seemed inclined to shew his consequence before the people assembled, by treating me rather cavalierly; however, meeting with two or three rubs in his career, he at length condescended to be very affable and civil. He made many apologies for the delays which had occurred, but assured me that, in a few days more, every thing would be completed to my wishes; that I might rely on him, as he was bound by every tie of honour and friendship to serve me; and concluded with requesting, that I would take the trouble to call again early the next day, as his writer was not present who had the papers, and he was under the necessity of attending his majesty early this morning. It is worthy remark, that even at the time these people are displaying the arrogance of their temper, they cannot help acknowledging our superiority. Their eyes are continually bent on us with a gaze of admiration; they listen with surprise and approbation to our replies and remarks; and confess, in unequivocal terms, the correctness and deli-

cacy of our manners, and the superiority of our attainments. The whoonghee said aloud, that he was ashamed to appear before us, or receive us in his house, so decisive are our advantages in dress and manners over him. I endeavoured to soften this humiliating confession, by observing, that mere dress or manners gave no advantage; that true greatness flowed from the mind; and that every one knew his excellency was a great man. After sitting with him about three-quarters of an hour we withdrew. After we returned home, I sent to the king's grandson for the electrical machine, to prepare some new experiments for his amusement, but had the mortification to find that they had cracked the only Leyden phial belonging to it. I endeavoured to make another, but for want of a proper jar have succeeded but indifferently.

*July 4.* About half-past seven A. M. went to the whoonghee's with Mr. Keys. I had heard overnight, that he had had a consultation with the pacaam whoonghee on my business, and was pleased to observe there were no strangers present, and that his writer was in waiting with the papers. He immediately proceeded to business, by ordering his writer to begin reading the translation of my memorials. When the man had advanced half-way through the first memorial, he stopped him to observe that I claimed a seat in the looto, next

to the whoongee's, which was more than was allowed to the first prince of the blood. I replied that the difficulty might easily be avoided, if insuperable, by my not being required to attend at the looto. But if at any time my attendance was required there, I must persist in my claim. He then asked me if I had a copy of my first memorial to his majesty? Fearful that this question was put with a view of affording a fresh pretext for delay, I evaded it, by saying, that I supposed his majesty's servants had the original. He said it was necessary that the substance of that memorial should be again laid before his majesty, at least that part of it which stated the desire of the Governor-General to unite the interests of the two nations on the most solid basis of friendship and mutual support, to which his majesty had not yet acceded, as, in fact, every thing depended on that being first agreed to by his majesty: for that, when he had consented to the union of the interests of the two nations, every thing else would follow of course. He, therefore, requested I would permit him to dictate the preamble to the memorials in terms to the above effect. As I thought it would be a means of accelerating despatch, I, therefore, readily assented to his proposal, and he immediately dictated to his writer in substance as follows:—That the honourable the Governor-General, &c. &c., having de-



puted me to the presence for the purpose of cementing and maintaining a friendly correspondence between the two nations, I had arrived at the Burmhan court with my credentials, and entreated his majesty to accede to the wishes of the Honourable the Governor-General, as it must eminently tend to the happiness and advantage of both nations. This preamble, after various emendations, was read to me, and I not only applauded the wisdom of the measure, but thanked him for his kind advice and assistance ; all which pleased him very much. Throughout the whole of this interview he was very affable and gracious, and applied to me, on every occasion, the term brother and friend. Without proceeding further in the reading, he told me it was unnecessary for me to give myself any further trouble in the business ; that he would avail himself of the first favourable opportunity to lay the papers before his majesty, and had no doubt of his acceding to the whole. On examining these papers, which contain many regulations of infinite importance, a person, unacquainted with my proceedings, would wonder at the apparent levity of these people, in passing them as it were undiscussed ; but the truth is, that although they have undergone no regular discussion, yet the substance has been detailed repeatedly, and conveyed through numerous channels ; so that I have no doubt that

his majesty is fully master of the subject, and has made up his mind on it long since; and that all these affected precautions of the whoonghee, were merely intended to enhance the value of his acquaintance.

*July 5.* At noon the king's grandson sent for my Burmhan writer; who, on his return informed me, that the king had given the young prince my camera obscura. Unable to adjust it, he had returned it; but the king immediately said, "Why don't you send to your friend the resident, he will instruct you. "May I?" asked the young prince eagerly. "Yes," said the king, "you may send to him whenever you please." He had, therefore, now sent to request, if I had any regard for him, that I would permit the gentlemen to go to the palace, adding, that he would not expect the pleasure of seeing me as yet, but hoped that the difficulties which prevented it at present, would soon be got over. About one o'clock two of the officers of his household came to conduct the gentlemen, and Mr. Keys and Mr. Burnett went with them to the palace. They were politely received as before, and this day the young prince conversed familiarly with them; was very affable, and, for his years, shewed a considerable acuteness of mind. He expressed a strong desire to see Calcutta, and desired Mr. Keys to tell me, that he would make a point of being present

when my memorials were laid before his grandfather by the whoonghee; and, in case any objection should arise to any part of them, he would entreat his grandfather to concede the point for his sake. They staid with him about three hours, and then retired, both parties apparently well-pleased. This being the anniversary of the Mohorum, my servants have joined the native Mahomedams in their morning processions; the religion being fully tolerated here.

*July 6.* This morning Mr. Keys waited on the mhee whoonghee to inquire after his health, and make a tender of his services. He appeared much pleased with this mark of attention. His principal aim in desiring to see Mr. Keys, was to obtain venereal provocatives. He desired Mr. Keys to inform me, that this day my memorials should be read in the looto, and forwarded to his majesty; and desired that my interpreter might attend at the opening of the looto, to witness the performance of this promise. Accordingly Mr. Rowland attended at the great looto at twelve o'clock. This is the first regular council of state that has been held since his majesty's return to Amarapoorah; and, during the whole time of his absence, he has been immersed in religious contentions; in consequence a great deal of business has accumulated. When the court was assembled, the pacaam whoonghee, ordered, that my memo-

rials should first be read : the first memorial was then read by the proper officer ; he then took it and looked it over himself, and then, without any comment, delivered it to the nakhan of the court, with orders to deliver it the next day to the at-towawoomen of the palace, to be read to his majesty. The court then proceeded to other business, and Mr. Rowland retired. He observed that the king's grandson had servants placed to watch the proceedings of the court, and give him notice, agreeable to his promise.

*July 7.* I received notice that my first memorial was read before his majesty this day, who appeared to approve of its contents, and ordered it to be returned to the looto, according to form, for their consideration and report ; so that, at this rate of proceeding, another month may elapse before he comes to a final decision. Nothing was done at the looto respecting the other memorials ; the truth is, that his majesty is still wavering in his mind respecting the line of conduct he shall adopt towards me ; he is either fearful of the consequences, or desirous of enhancing the value of the favour, by increasing the difficulties of attainment.

At the intercession of his queens, the royal family, &c., (or more probably, convinced of the impracticability of his scheme of reforming the religion of his country,) he has at length re-



scinded his resolutions of reform, and admitted the priesthood again to his favour; so that nearly the whole time of his ministers has been employed these two days in issuing certificates of indemnification to the heads of bhows of religious societies, to relieve them from the penalties they were liable to by his majesty's late regulations. I received a visit from the mayhoon of Hunzawuddy's brother-in-law; his principal business was to obtain medical assistance for himself and family from Mr. Keys. He reported to me the favourable disposition of his majesty, the heir-apparent, &c., towards me; but as this was, probably, with a view of ensuring success to his own request, much dependence is not to be placed on it; where duplicity is so frequent, suspicion is at least pardonable.

*July 8.* In the morning I sent my interpreter to the head woondock, having, during my residence at Mheghoon, received many marks of attention from him; but, as he has been employed ever since up the river, I have not had an opportunity lately of communicating with him. He desired Mr. R. to inform me, that the present cause of demur arose from the shabunder of Arrakan (a Malabar,) having represented, in a petition to his majesty, that I want to build a fort within the town of Rangoon; and warning him of the danger of admitting the English to establish

themselves in his dominions. He said that, although his majesty entertained the most favourable opinion of the integrity and honour of the English, and was much pleased with my conduct in particular; yet alarming reports coming from so many quarters, induced a necessity for cautious deliberation on an occasion which so nearly affected the interests of his family and country. He, at the same time, desired him to assure me that no endeavours on his part should be wanting to expedite my business, and to obviate the effects of these malicious reports; as he was fully convinced they were calumnies raised by low-minded envious people, the enemies of both states. He was pointedly attentive to Mr. R., told him I might command him at all hours, called his gate-porter, and gave him orders to admit him night or day whenever he should call. It is currently believed this man will be appointed to the vacant whoongheeship, as he is known to possess a large share of his majesty's confidence, and is of acknowledged abilities.

In the evening I received a visit from the queen's whoon, who came with a numerous and respectable train of attendants. He is a man of very affable deportment, and much in favour with both their majesties; he was highly pleased with some electrical experiments, which were shewn him. He said he was a fortunate man in being

favoured with my friendship, and rejoiced for his country, for the advantages it would receive from its connexion with the English: that they were in darkness, and we only could enlighten them. He confirmed the report of the malicious representations of the Arrakan shabunder, and said, that although his majesty had too much sense to give any credit to them, he was unavoidably obliged to pay some attention to them. I used every argument in my power to expose the futility and malignity of these reports; and he assured me that he would use all his interest with the queen, to obviate their effects, and expedite my business.

*July 9.* In the morning I sent Mr. Keys with my interpreter, to pay his respects to the pacaam whoonghee, and to interest him to expedite my business. For this purpose I gave Mr. Keys a written message, and a diamond-ring for him; he received Mr. K. very politely, assured him that his best endeavours should be used to promote my views, as he was well convinced it would tend to his majesty's benefit. When he went to the looto, I understand that he brought my business on the tapis, but nothing being determined, the first woondock said, "If your excellencies will not lay these memorials before his majesty, and oppose the unjust aspersions against the English, I will undertake the task." The whoonghees,

piqued at his thus volunteering himself, asked what he in particular knew of the English? He replied, that his knowledge was derived partly from experience, and partly from reading; that, as to where he got his knowledge was of no consequence; it was high time something was done, and if no one else would stand forward he would.

In the evening I sent my interpreter to two of the palace whoons, with a trifling present; they received him civilly, and gave assurances of their friendship; the mhee whoonghee sent to request Mr. Keys would call on him to-morrow morning.

*July 10.* About ten A.M., Mr. Keys, &c., went to the whee whoonghee, according to his request. The gentleman was in one of his surly, savage humours: he did not order a mat for Mr. Keys to sit down on; and when he seated himself on the common floor mats, desired him to remove further off, although he was two or three yards distant. He had already expended the cordial tincture sent him, and asked in a rude manner, if the doctor had brought a fresh supply; which being answered in the negative, did not tend to increase his good humour. He was informed by Mr. K. that the medicine was not meant to be used so liberally; that it would be prejudicial to him, and that it would be impossible to supply his excellency, as he had brought but a small quantity from Calcutta; he would, however, send him



another bottle, but recommended a temperate use of it. The medicine sent was nothing more than oil of cinnamon, Wright's aromatic bitters, and a large dose of Hoffnan's case of noyau; which altogether made a very palatable dram: so that it is no wonder the savage liked it. But this man is insensible to acts of kindness, and is to be kept in subjection, or within the bounds of decency, only by fear. Mr. Keys's explanation and promise having soothed him a little, he condescended to speak of my business, and said, in his loose way, that it would soon be settled. Mr. K. replied, that I should be happy to see his words verified, as my patience was nearly exhausted. The whoonghee then requested Mr. Keys to call at the looto, with my interpreter, to get a copy of my first memorial made out, to be presented with the other memorials; but Mr. Keys asking if there was any particular necessity for his attending, he said the interpreter would be sufficient: then saying he wanted to go to sleep, left him without further ceremony. This gross behaviour of the mhee whoonghee's, his again bringing forward the subject of the first memorial, and the exact intelligence I have of his wilful procrastination, determined me to lose no time in bringing the question fully before the looto. I, therefore, immediately addressed a message to the looto, expressive of my sentiments of their conduct, and

demanding an explicit avowal of their intentions, as I could not, consistent with my duty, admit of any further delay. I sent Mr. Burnett with this message, and with orders to deliver the originals of my memorials at the same time, and on no account to bring them back. When Mr. Burnett arrived at the looto, the court was open for business, and he was seated next to the woondocks. On its being announced that he had a message to deliver from me, the mhce whoonghee sent his head writer to tell Mr. B. that there was no necessity for his delivering the message, as the papers he had mentioned in the morning were copying. Mr. B. persisted in his resolution to deliver my message; the mhce whoonghee again sent to him, but without effect, and he met with no more direct opposition. In the first instance a kind of brief petition was drawn up by the nakhan of the court, stating that Mr. Burnett, on such a day, at such an hour, came to the golden looto, charged with a message from the English Resident, and requested permission to deliver it. This was handed to the sandoghan of the court, and recited in a loud voice. Permission being granted, the message was to be translated into the Burmhan language before it could be delivered by the sandoghan. While the nakhan was writing down the translation, a message came from his majesty, requiring the attendance

of the whoonghees at the palace: the woondocks, &c., remained, but the court being considered as broken up, some of them unrobed themselves. The translation finished, Mr. Burnett delivered the memorials to the nakhan, who promised to have the message read the next day. The first woondock was pointedly attentive, approved of the message, and encouraged the nakhan to proceed, when he demurred transcribing a strong passage. Whether this message is publicly delivered in the looto or not, is of no consequence; my purpose is effected, as the contents are known to so many persons, that it must infallibly reach his majesty's ears; indeed, it is the particular duty of the nakhan to communicate it to his majesty, and it would endanger his head were he to suppress it. His majesty, therefore, cannot fail knowing how much I have reason to be dissatisfied with his ministers, and my determination to be trifled with no longer. The first woondock desired my interpreter to call at his house tomorrow morning.

*July 11.* My interpreter went to the woondock's in the morning: he received him in a very friendly familiar manner, promised to bring my business before his majesty, and requested, in particular, to know what I wished to have done; and told Mr. R. that a deputation of officers of rank should wait on me next day with my com-

mission from his majesty as Resident of Rangoon. He requested, in particular, that I would have a little patience, and all would go well.

*July 12.* I availed myself of the forward friendship of the woondock to send him a memorandum of my wishes ; pointing out the impropriety of postponing my business, without assigning any reason, or admitting me to a meeting with his majesty's ministers, when the respective claims and wishes of both parties might be discussed and adjusted ; at the same time stating the inutility of sending my commission, unless attended with instructions to the Rangoon government to give it effect. He informed Mr. R. that he had proposed the sending the commission in the looto, but that the mhee whoonghee had opposed it, saying, I must come to the looto for the commission. Nothing further had been done about my memorials.

*July 13.* Finding the whoonghees were no longer to be depended on, and that there was a probable chance of conveying my sentiments to his majesty, through the channel of this woondock, I prepared a serious detail of all my grievances, in order to send Mr. Keys with it to him early this morning ; but was prevented by his majesty and the whole court going out to see some wild elephants secured in the royal keddah. It is situated about three-quarters of a mile to



the northward of the fort, in the suburbs, but on the banks of the river; and it is said the Burmahans are very dexterous in this business, of which I shall, at a more convenient opportunity, give a description. About half-past four o'clock P. M. the court returned, and, anxious to bring my business to a conclusion, I sent Mr. Keys, with my interpreter, to the woondock. He received him with marked attention, gave him a chair, and seated himself close to him; being, however, desirous of relaxation, Mr. Keys could not proceed far in my business, but received an invitation to call again early the next morning.

*July 14.* Early this morning Mr. Keys, attended by the interpreter, went to the woondock's according to appointment. He was received as before, with rude hospitality, but found great difficulty in fixing his attention to the business he came upon; not as would appear from the want of inclination, but, in truth, to want of understanding. He could form no conception of my being displeased at the frivolous treatment I had experienced from his majesty's ministers; or of any ill consequences that could arise from the rejection of my claims for redress of grievances. However the whole of my message was fairly translated into his book, and he promised faithfully to have my memorials delivered, and answers returned to them in a few days; and, as a

pledge of his sincerity, gave Mr. Keys a paun of betel, and requested that my interpreter might attend at the looto. About half-past nine A.M. Mr. Keys returned home, and he went to the palace.

At noon my interpreter attended at the looto, when the woondock, according to his promise, brought forward the business of my memorials, &c. The whoonghees immediately declared that they were inadmissible, and without assigning any further reason, affirmed that they would not permit them to be laid before his majesty; that his majesty, agreeably to Sir John Shore's letter, had appointed me resident at Rangoon, but would not at present receive any remonstrance or statement of grievances; that indeed I might return in three or four months, when, perhaps, he might deign to listen to me, at present I had no further claim on his royal favour; and that I must come to the looto to receive his commission. My interpreter, to whom they addressed themselves, then asked if I came to the looto, what place would be assigned me? They replied below the nakhan, one of the inferior offices of the court, being the place where Captain Symes was seated. My interpreter told them they might rest assured I would not attend the looto on those terms. A desultory conversation then took place, in which the whoonghees, woondocks, and others, indiffer-

ently joined; every one suggesting something according to his caprice or pretensions to sagacity. One said, that when I came to the looto to receive my commission, I must take an oath of fidelity to his Burmhan majesty according to their form, otherwise I might play tricks: another said, that I should not have permission to retire until the fugitives from Arrakan were delivered up, the Governor-General, in his letter, having referred them to me on that subject: another advanced, that Chittagong, Luckipore, Dacca, and the whole of the Cassembuzar island, formerly made part of the ancient dominions of Arrakan; that the remains of chokeys and pagodas were still to be seen near Dacca, and that they could further prove it from the Arrakan records, and hinted that his majesty would claim the restitution of those countries. They repeatedly desired my interpreter to take back the memorials, and uttered a thousand other impertinencies; in short, their outrages against decency and common sense surpasses conception. The woondock, however, touched my interpreter as he was going away, and told him apart, that he would make another effort, and endeavour to gain over his majesty; but, I have little dependence on him. They would never have dared to have proceeded these lengths without the sanction of a high authority; for they are, in fact, but a set of automatons

without either sense or motion, but what they derive from the master hand. It is almost in vain to conjecture the cause of this sudden change; I can only ascribe it to the intrigues of the Assamese party who have pretensions to the throne of Lower Assam: and the young princess having pleased the doting monarch, they have availed themselves of her influence to induce him to espouse their cause, and break with the English; added to the incessant clamours and intrigues of the Mahomedan, Malabar, and other factions, who have been continually employed in inflaming their thirst for dominion, or exciting their prejudices against us; well aware, that the dawn of our influence must prove destructive to their own. How unlike is this picture to that drawn in the laboured periods of my predecessor? where is the polish, the intelligence, or faith, on which he delighted to amplify? But let me avoid the parallel, lest indignation should betray me into a warmth unworthy of the subject.

*July 15.* In the morning I sent my interpreter to the woondock's. It should appear that he is either intimidated by his colleagues, or like them is equally deficient of sincerity. He now gave up all idea of bringing forward my memorials, said we must be content with obtaining my commission on the terms prescribed above, and getting the regulations, settled by Captain Symes, con-



firmed. He said, that in my memorial presented at Mheghoon, I had proposed that the enemies of the English should be the enemies of the Burmhans, and *vice versa*; but that his majesty could not agree to it, at the Burmhans had only one enemy, the Siamese, and the English had three, the French, the Dutch, and Spaniards; therefore it was not a fair bargain. This clause in my Mheghoon memorial was inserted, at the earnest request of the mayhoon, rayhoon, and others, as a compliment that would be highly pleasing to his majesty; and the mhee whoonghee, but a few days ago, had insisted on the absolute necessity of its being renewed, and had himself inserted it in the addition to my memorial which he dictated at his house. But now every thing is a subject of cavil, at the same time they dare not meet me face to face to discuss their objections. He again brought forward his majesty's claims on the ancient territory of Arrakan, and reduced it to the form of a demand of half of the revenues of Dacca. He requested that I would not send Mr. Burnett to the looto to demand a formal answer to my former message, and advised that I should by no means apply for leave to retire, as it might offend his majesty. He concluded with requesting I would send him a curry; yesterday he had a pallamé. As I wanted to close my Bengal letters, it prevented my sending

Mr. Burnett to the looto as I had intended, for this gentleman's advice is no longer to be attended to. I despatched my letters, and in the evening I sent the woondock a curry, but had only a salaam in return.

*July 17.* In the morning I sent my interpreter to the woondock's, to learn if he had made any advance in my business, and to inform him that I only waited for the expiration of the five days to pursue my own resolutions, in case his endeavours failed. He informed Mr. K. that he had not as yet been able to effect any thing, but meant to make an effort again this day; and requested that I would have patience for a day or two longer. He again requested that I would not think of requiring leave to retire, as it might be attended with very bad consequences; and strongly advised, that I should accept the king's commission as Resident at Rangoon; saying, that it would infallibly lead to his granting all my requests. He was more moderate and flattering in his discourse than he had ever been before. He, however, renewed the subject of the Burmhan claims on Dacca, &c., but lowered the demand to one-tenth of the revenues. He said it was evident that we were dubious of our right, by Captain Symes having so strenuously urged the building of a chekoy on the Naaf, to mark that river as the boundary between the two countries. Had

the Naaf been the proper boundary, there was no occasion for Captain Symes's agitating the subject; we had betrayed our consciousness of our want of right by his solicitude on that occasion. These arguments shew how necessary caution is in treating with this people: every act of complaisance is construed into fear; and every concession is but a stimulus to their arrogance and insolence. They have publicly said, that 3,000 men would be sufficient to wrest from us the provinces they claim; and the mhee whoonghee has even pledged himself to effect the service with that number. I forgot to mention, because it scarcely attracted my notice at the time, that, at my last interview with the mhee whoonghee, when he was enforcing the necessity of adding the article relative to his Burmhan majesty agreeing to be friends with the English, &c., he said that his majesty had not as yet consented to admit us among the number of his friends; and that, unless he did consent, it was probable, that he and I, who were now such good friends, might soon be opposed to each other as enemies, in the armies of our respective countries. It would be endless to state all the impertinencies that have been indirectly conveyed to me; every art has been essayed to intimidate me; but the little effect attending these efforts has afforded the aggressors but little encouragement. The contagion has

spread to our usual visitants, who have deserted us these several days past. In the course of yesterday I drew up a final address for the members of the looto, and, with great difficulty, got it translated into the Burmhan language. As I have never positively refused to receive his majesty's commission, but endeavoured only to evade it, as nugatory and embarrassing, yet, as complaisance therein may tend to reconciliation, I mean to inform them in the morning, that I have no objection to receive it as a preliminary measure.

*July 18.* In conformity with my resolution of yesterday, I sent my interpreter early in the morning to the woondock, to inform him, that I had no objection to receiving his majesty's commission. He was evidently well pleased with this notice; waived the idea of my going to the looto for it, and told my interpreter, that if he and the mewjerry would go to the looto at noon, it should be delivered to them; and added, that I might depend on its being followed by a grant of all I wished. He also informed him, that a gilt boat had been despatched express, yesterday at noon, for the mayhoon of Hunzawuddy, who was ordered to repair to court without his family, with all expedition, in an express-boat, and that he would be here in twenty-five days. As I have ever been willing to meet these people half way, whenever I have found them disposed to treat me with



civility, I determined to send my private assistant, Mr. Burnett, with an escort of sepoys, and two sontabadours, with a silver salver and gold cloth, to receive and bring his majesty's commission to me. I accordingly sent notice of my intention, and was informed that the court were well pleased with this intended respectful mark of my attention.

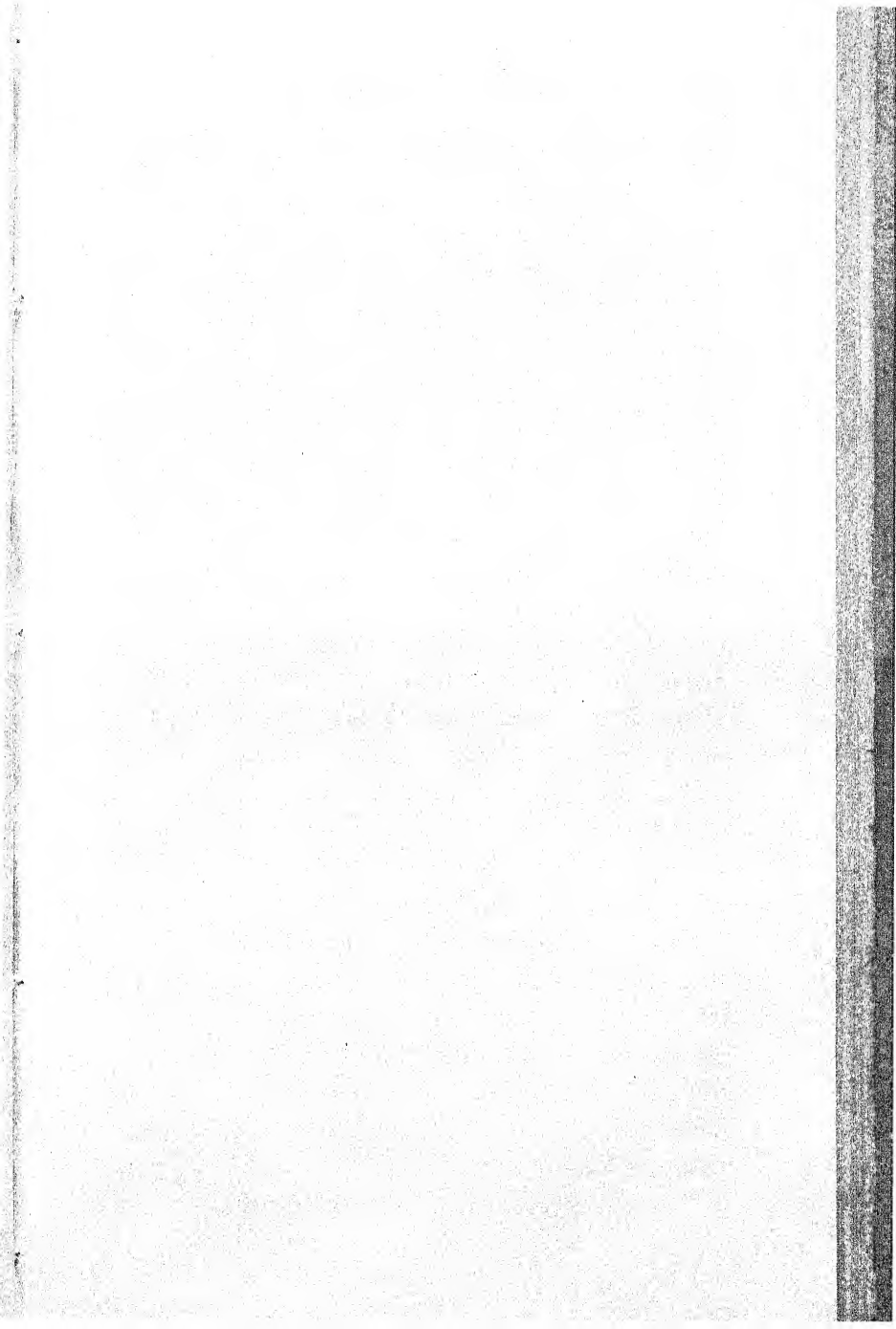
At half-past eleven A.M. I sent Mr. Burnett, &c., to the looto; the escort, &c., was stopped at the outer gate of the palace, and Mr Burnett was conducted to the looto, and seated in the line of sandoghans, and other inferior officers of the court. They kept him waiting till three o'clock, when he was informed that the commission could not be delivered to him; that I myself must come to the looto to receive it, and to take an oath of allegiance to his majesty. Previous to this, the three woondocks present, offered to take the commission to my house, but to this the mhee whoonghee objected, and insisted on the necessity of my attending in person at the looto. He sent for my interpreter to say something to him, and he went round to his excellency to hear what he had to say, when his excellency said he wished him to take a message to me; but as I had given Mr. Burnett strict orders to enter into no discussion, but confine himself solely to the receiving the commission; he told him, that his orders confined him to receiving the commission, and that if it was not to be delivered to him,

he begged leave to retire. The whoonghee then desired, that he would wait a little and take their messenger with him. Mr. Burnett again informed him, that his orders were positive, and that he must retire. He accordingly returned home immediately. No messenger came to me, as expected, from the looto; but about eight o'clock at night, the mhee whoonghee's confidential writer came to my house, and informed me that his excellency wished to see me at his house for a quarter of an hour the next morning. I returned for answer, that I was sorry I could not do myself the pleasure of waiting on his excellency, as I had already been at his house six or seven times since his return, without effect, as he would never listen to me, and hardly treated me with common attention.

*July 19.* In the morning I sent my interpreter to inform the woondock, that as the five days were now elapsed I intended sending Mr. Burnett to receive the looto's final answer to my message of the tenth instant. He said it was unnecessary sending Mr. Burnett as the court had already determined not to lay my memorials before his majesty; and that as to permission for my retiring to Rangoon, it would not be granted. My interpreter then told him, that having met with so indelicate a disappointment yesterday about the commission, I had determined not to send again for it, but would receive it with every respect if

sent to my house by proper officers. The woon-dock acknowledged that I was justified in this conduct, and laid all the blame on the mhee whoonghee. He then asked if the whoonghee had not sent for me yesterday evening : Mr. Burnett replied in the affirmative, and informed him of my reply. He rejoined, that he was not surprised at my resentment, as he had heard from others of his improper conduct towards me ; but added, the Resident should not take offence at him, as every one knows him to be a rude low man, destitute of politeness.

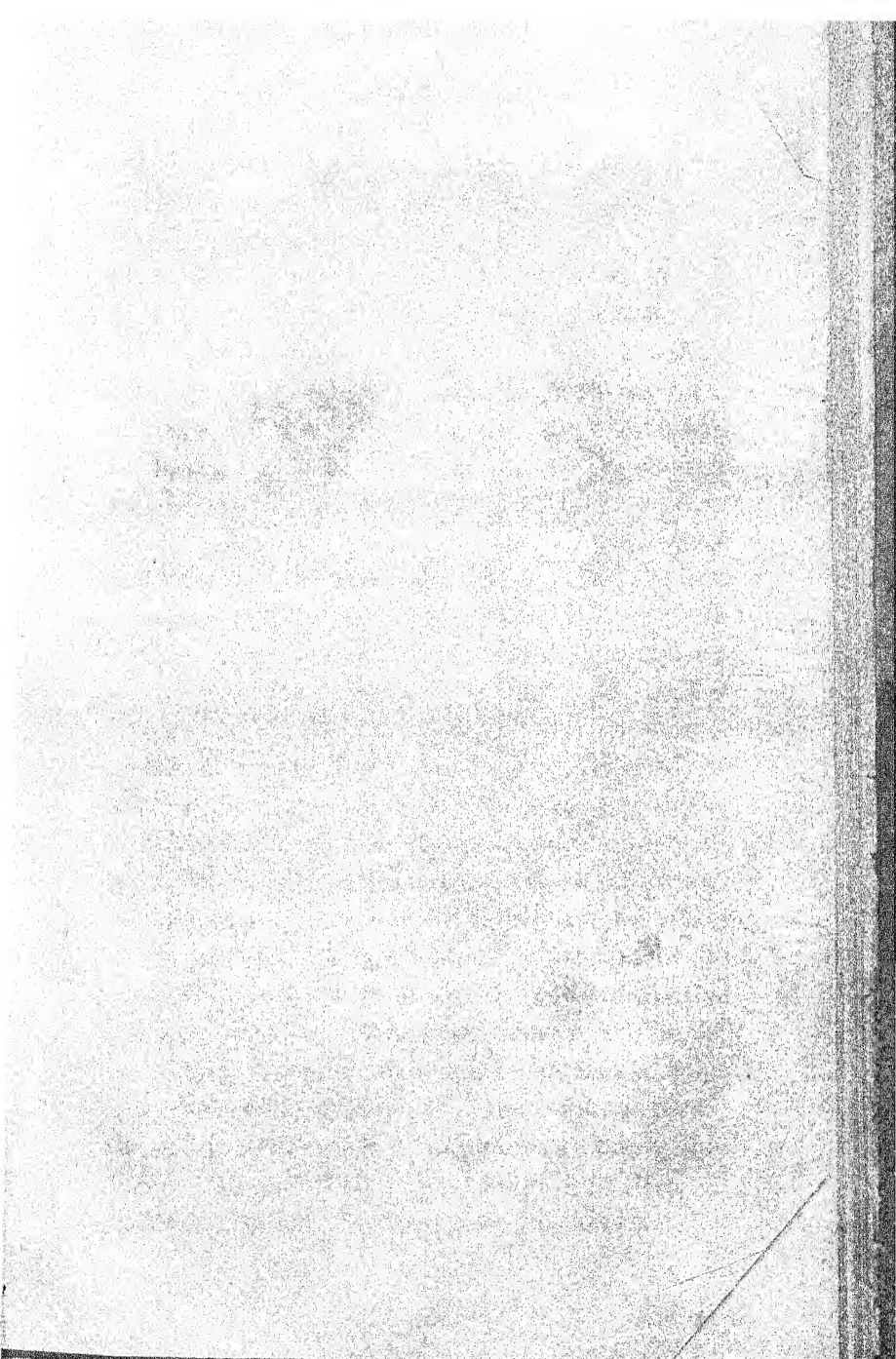
At half-past eleven A.M. I sent Mr. Burnett with the interpreter to the looto, but when they arrived at the gate of the palace they were refused admittance. After some difficulty, the porter permitted the interpreter to go to the looto, to give notice that Mr. Burnett was waiting at the gate ; orders were then given for his admittance. When he came to the looto, he found only the first woon-dock there ; he was directed to take his former place, and desired to sit down. The woondock then asked him what his business was at the lotoo ? He replied, he had a message to deliver. The woondock told him, that he had better go to the nakhan's house, and deliver the message to him. Mr. Burnett replied, that his business was with the looto, and not with the nakhan ; that he came to receive an answer to the message he







A NAKHAN





had delivered some days before, and to deliver another from me. The woondock told him, as the court was not yet assembled, and he had not obtained regular permission to come to the court, he had better retire and wait till it was formed. While Mr. Burnett was seated in the looto, the mhee whoonghee's writer, who had brought me the message the evening before, came up to him, and in an insolent tone of voice asked, why I had not waited on the whoonghee agreeably to the intimation he had given me? adding that the whoonghee had expected me all the morning. Mr. Burnett very properly would not permit any answer to be given to this insolent interrogation, and retired. As to wait in the gate-way would have been rather irksome and improper, he went to the house of a merchant near at hand, and waited there till he saw the pacaam whoonghee (who according to the Burmhan etiquette, being first in rank goes last) go to the looto; he then again presented himself at the gate, and was stopped as before. An officer of the court passing by obtained permission for the interpreter to go on to inform the court of Mr. B.'s being in waiting. When he came to the looto, the mhee whoonghee in an imperious tone of voice called out to the nakhan, that he would not permit my interpreter to deliver any message there; that if the strangers had any message to deliver, it must be through Moncourtuse the king's trans-



lator: he added, I sent for that man, meaning me, to come to me this morning and he did not attend. He made no offer, however, to send for Moncourtuse, and as he would not permit the interpreter to speak, he retired and informed Mr. Burnett of the mhee whoonghee's orders: he in consequence returned home.

About noon a Mr. Reeves, an English merchant, arrived here from Rangoon with private adventure, to try the market. He requested permission to wait on me to-morrow.

*July 20.* In the morning Mr. Reeves, merchant, waited on me. He informed me, that he had had a good deal of trouble from the chokeys, notwithstanding the mayhoon of Hunzawuddy had given him some of his people as a guard, and a passport.

In the evening, a favourite relation of the king's grandson, called to see Mr Keys, &c., and expressed a wish to see me; however, in the present state of my business, I did not think it proper to gratify him.

*July 21.* His majesty, immediately after his return to Amapoorah, issued orders for the currency of the pice I brought from Bengal, and prohibited the currency of silver and lead in the Bazars; but established no rate at which the pice were to pass, nor had he coined any, or even issued the whole of those I brought (one lack,) nor provided any medium in the room of the silver

currency. Under these circumstances the people were much distressed, and obliged to substitute rice instead of lead for small purchases in the provision markets. Privately, silver still continued current, notwithstanding the prohibition, and the officers of government winked at it to prevent the stagnation of all business. This forbearance coming to the knowledge of his majesty, he this day suspended the whoonghees from the exercise of their offices, exposed them to the sun in the palace-yard from ten till four o'clock, with pieces of silver round their necks, and was with difficulty prevailed on by their humble submission to refrain from severer punishment. He has not however pardoned them, and has ordered that the looto shall continue shut. The two mayhoons or governors of the fort are confined in the fire-house loaded with irons; and the former orders respecting the currency directed to be enforced with the greatest rigour. I understand he is coining rupees and pice in the palace.

*July 22.* In the morning I sent my interpreter to the first woondock to ask his advice, how I should convey to his majesty my wishes to return to Rangoon; he told him it was impossible to convey a letter to his majesty on the subject, and that I must patiently wait the arrival of the mayhoon of Hunzawuddy, who had been sent for ex-

press, and was expected at court in twenty days. He confirmed the accounts of his majesty's displeasure and punishment of the whoonghees. From him Mr. R. also learnt, that the new regulations respecting the coinage were as follows:—For 100 ticals weight of silver, two and a half per cent. standard, delivered into the royal mint, 60 pieces each weighing one tical, would be given in exchange; that 20 of the pice I brought from Bengal were to be given in exchange for one of those coined ticals, or 40 pieces of his majesty's coinage. Now supposing the ticals issued from the mint to be of the same standard as the silver paid in, or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent worse than pure silver, he will gain at the rate of  $66\frac{2}{3}$  per cent. on the silver; and as the copper pice I brought cost him only one tical, 5 per cent. silver, for 81, or 83 for one tical of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. silver, and he sells them at the rate of one tical for 20, his gain on those pice will be 315 per cent., or in plainer language, the pice he bought for 100 ticals, he will sell for 415 ticals. His gain on the pice of his own coinage will amount to about one-third more; but if we take into consideration the advanced or nominal value of his new silver coinage, the profits on the issue of the Bengal pice will be enormous indeed. On the lack of pice, he will gain 7,318 ticals, five per cent. silver, or 8781 sicca rupees, at the rate of

598 per cent. This statement will serve as a proof of the extreme avarice, despotism and ignorance, which holds dominion here.

Ten men, principal merchants, have been condemned to lose their heads for paying, and receiving, silver bullion as heretofore, contrary to his majesty's orders.

*July 24.* In the morning I sent my interpreter to the engai's whoon, to learn his sentiments respecting my situation, &c.: he confirmed the account of the mayhoon's having been sent for, but was in other respects rather reserved, as my interpreter told him his calling was accidental. One of my washermen having absconded, I availed myself of the occasion to send the interpreter to the pacaam whoonghee's; he received him with kindness, and promised his endeavours towards finding my man. He also mentioned that the mayhoon would soon be here, and inquired after my health, &c. The men who were to have been executed, have obtained a reprieve at the intercession of the courtiers; and the mayhoons of Amarapoorah have also been liberated.

*July 25.* In the morning I sent my interpreter to the engai's whoon, to request his advice, as to the best means of conveying a letter to his majesty, to obtain his permission for my retiring to Rangoon. This message brought on a conversation respecting late occurrences. He expressed his



sorrow for the disappointments and treatment that I had experienced, and promised to consult with the Enga Tekaing on the subject and let me know the result. From the enga's whoon, my interpreter went to the pacaam whoonghee's, to remind him of his promise to send men to apprehend my washerman. He received him with great affability, and entered on the discussion of my business, in their loose way : in general, a mere repetition of all the idle nonsense which I have so often detailed ; but concluded with saying, there were now only two difficulties to surmount ; one was the establishing a chokee on the Naaf, the other, my taking the oath of allegiance to his majesty. In respect to the first, it is the first time I ever heard of it from them as a point of contest ; and as to the latter, as it has never been proposed to me regularly, I have never delivered my sentiments on it. While my interpreter was with him, one of the engai's confidential servants came in, and began the old story of the encroaching spirit of the English. The king's merchant, my visitant, took up the cudgels in our defence, and exposed the infamy and ignorance of our calumniators (the Mahomedans, &c.) with success, the pacaam whoonghee joining him. He said, he knew the English were a brave and faithful people, but that the French were not to be trusted. He had experienced their conduct at Syrian, and bared his arm to shew were he had

been wounded by a musket-ball, when their ships attacked the Burmhan camp. The engai's man confessed, he had received his intelligence from the Malabars and Mahomedans.

*July 26.* In the morning I sent my interpreter to the engai's whoon for his answer to my message of yesterday. He excused himself on account of the heavy rain which had prevented his seeing the prince. He desired he would give his compliments to me, and say, that he would consider himself much obliged to me, if I would forgive Mr. Moncourtuse, pledging himself, for his good behaviour in future. As I had no further view in the displeasure I had shewn against Moncourtuse, than to keep him in awe of me, and to prevent his mischievous tricks, and as I was happy to have an opportunity of fixing an obligation on the engai's whoon, I therefore determined to acquiesce in his request. About eleven A.M. he sent for my interpreter, and I ordered him to tell the engai's whoon, that I was happy in having an opportunity of obliging him; and notwithstanding the just cause I had to be angry with Moncourtuse, at his instance I would forget all that was past, on promise of better behaviour for the future. He appeared pleased with this concession, and sent Mr. Moncourtuse to me with my interpreter whom he desired to tell me, that he would punish Mr. Moncourtuse himself in the event of his be-

having ill again. Mr. Moncourtuse presented himself with a half-penitent, half-brazen face,\* in which impudence and conscious guilt were struggling for the ascendancy. I waived listening to his defence, and contented myself with cautioning him to be more guarded in future, as he regarded his own interests and safety. I then detailed to him the heads of the several offensive measures, and follies of the Burmhan ministers, pointing out the disgrace which attached to them as a nation, for practising them on me, and their pernicious tendency. I was very full on these subjects, knowing that he would communicate them again. I pretended that I had given up all idea of transacting business with them, and only wanted permission to retire to Rangoon; which I desired he would request the engai's whoon to obtain for me.

As I have the strongest conviction, that this man has throughout acted in concert with the members of government, I may reasonably attribute his present submission to some projected change of operations; but all conjecture is in vain, where folly plans, and caprice sways.

*July 27.* In the evening Mr. Moncourtuse called on me, and informed me that the engai's whoon had not yet had an opportunity of speaking to the engai tekaing, but expected to have some conversation with him at night.

I learn that the pacaam whoonghee had repre-

sented to his majesty the distress of his people for want of a current medium of commerce ; that the shops were shut up, and the bazars unsupplied, and entreated that he would permit flowered silver to pass current, until such time as a sufficient quantity of rupees and pice were coined and issued from the royal mint. His majesty waived the discourse, yet it was hoped he would yield to this reasonable request.

*July 28.* The hopes entertained yesterday of his majesty's permitting flowered silver to be current has vanished. On the pacaam whoonghee renewing the request this day, he was extremely indignant, and forbade him to speak again on the subject. Mr. Reeves the English merchant has not been able in consequence to dispose of any of his goods, although the merchants are willing to buy, but have not the means of paying him. In the evening Moncourtuse waited on me, and informed me from the engai's whoon, that he had represented my case to the prince, who in reply said, he would not interfere ; that I must first apply to the looto, and that when they had laid my request before his majesty and his opinion was asked, he would then exert his interest in my favour ; so that my hopes from him are no more : as I am fully resolved never to give the looto another opportunity of insulting me, or to hold any interview with them, until they have



amply apologized for their conduct towards me, and therefore I directed Mr. Moncourtuse to inform the prince, that if any benefit could arise from my yielding, I should not hesitate a moment; but I have had too frequent opportunities of observing, that politeness and moderation, on my part only tends to provoke insolence on theirs: and were I to succumb in the least under my present circumstances, I am fully convinced they would trample on me immediately. The drift of Moncourtuse's apparent submission is now sufficiently evident; they wish to employ him as the instrument of humbling me; but I trust they will in this, as well as all their other sagacious projects, find themselves disappointed.

*July 29.* As I did not choose to rely entirely on Moncourtuse's reports, I sent my interpreter this morning to the engai's whoon, who confirmed, literally, what he had said. I had ordered my interpreter to tell the whoon, that it was impossible I could comply with the prince's wishes after the treatment I had experienced from the looto. He, notwithstanding, desired him to return to me, and request I would try them once more. I, therefore, thought it necessary to terminate the question, by sending him back immediately to inform him, that I was positively determined not to hold any further communication with the looto, let the consequences be what they would.

He then said he would again speak to the prince. Moncourtuse sent an excuse this day for not waiting on me, stating that he was lame and requesting an embrocation for his leg. In the evening two of the mangies of the boat that came up with me waited on me; they had just arrived with the king's duties from Rangoon, and expressed great happiness in seeing me well.

*July 31.* Mrs. Jhansey, wife of the shabunder of Rangoon, this morning sent to desire to see my interpreter. When he returned he informed me, that she had been sent for yesterday to the palace by the king. That when there, the king and first queen asked her, why the English Resident still remained at Rangoon? affecting not to know what had passed between me and the whoonghees, &c. That she had replied, I was very desirous of returning to Rangoon, adding, that she believed I was much dissatisfied, and stating some of the particular insults that had been offered to me: in conclusion, their majesties commanded her to get from me a written account of what I wanted. She told them my several memorials were already before the looto, and contained every thing their majesties desired; but they repeated their orders to her as above. She, therefore, required to know what answer she should return to their majesties, when she next went to the palace. I directed, that she would present my profound

respects to their majesties, and inform them, that I only wanted their permission to return to Rangoon ; and to add, that if their majesties wished to know what I had wanted, they had only to order the whoonghees to lay my memorials before them. She was very anxious to get a written reply, but as I did not altogether approve of this extraordinary channel of communication, I did not think it proper to comply until more regular means have failed. Mrs. Jhansey was the relict of a Frenchman who commanded the king's guard. Jhansey, who succeeded this man in his command, thought it might be useful to his future views to become his successor with the wife also, as she was possessed of some property, and was also a small favourite with the first queen ; and he manœuvred so well by affecting despair and madness, that their majesties in compassion for his sufferings, compelled the old woman, much against her inclinations, to accept of him as a second husband. She appears to be between sixty and seventy years of age, and professes the Roman Catholic religion. She has been very useful to me since my arrival here, in supplying a number of trifling articles for my table ; in particular, pastry for Burmham entertainments. I must confess I should not have thought of employing her in state negotiations ; but as their majesties have shewn me the example, I shall not be so fastidious as to refuse the good

offices even of a pie-woman, when a proper opportunity offers. This day, the funeral obsequies of a chief poonghee were performed with great state. A great part of the royal family attended. In the present situation of my affairs, I did not think proper to let any of my family attend.

*August 2.* As I had not heard from Mrs. Jhansey, I sent my interpreter to learn the result of her mission. She said, that when she waited on his majesty, he asked her if she had brought any writing from me. She said, no ; and then repeated what had been communicated to her. He appeared displeased at this, told her she was a fool, that he had ordered her expressly to bring my sentiments in writing, and that as she had not done so, he had nothing further to say on the subject. I also sent to the engai's whoon, who returned for answer that he could not say any thing until he had seen Moncourtuse ; that he had sent for him several times, but that he excused himself from attending, by a plea of sickness. He, therefore, requested Mr. Rowland to go and see whether he was sick or not. This day his majesty was graciously pleased to relieve his subjects by permitting the currency of flowered silver.

*August 3.* Having determined to keep open the private communication with his majesty, I had a copy taken of the Burmhan translation of my last letter to the looto, and sent it to Mrs. Jhansey



as obtained by my interpreter without my knowledge, for his majesty's satisfaction. She wanted a present to take with it, but that he was instructed to say was impossible to obtain from me, as it must be altogether a private transaction: thus satisfied, she promised to deliver it. I learnt this day, that the third woondock had been dismissed from his office for accepting a bribe to acquit some thieves. He is said to be regretted, as being not so corrupt and more lenient than his colleagues; these qualities, however, have, most probably, been the means of precipitating his ruin, for the proverb is reversed here, and honesty is not the best policy. In the evening Mr. Moncourtuse called, and my interpreter went with him to the enga's whoon's, who informed them, that he had at length persuaded the mhee whoonghee to lay my memorials before his majesty, and that he would present them as to-morrow. He desired they would call on him again early to-morrow morning, and then go to the mhee whoonghee's who would inform them further on the subject.

*August 4.* This morning, according to appointment, Mr. Moncourtuse with my interpreter, went to the enga's whoon's, and, at his particular desire, from thence to the mhee whoonghee's. When there, the mhee whoonghee told them, that the attention of the court would be engaged by some

ceremonies relative to the washing, and his majesty's taking possession, of the white elephant ; but, when that was over, he would lay my memorials before his majesty. He then said, that the day his majesty went to see the elephants caught, several of my servants were there, and that they did not pay proper respect to his majesty ; and that one of them, contrary to their laws, had a musket with him, with which he supposed he meant to do mischief. My interpreter told him, that it was impossible any of my servants could have been there with a musket, as none of my people were even permitted to take the smallest offensive weapon out of the house. At this defence he was violently offended ; said he had seen the man himself, and could not be mistaken. He then asked the interpreter how he dared presume to come into his compound on horseback, or bring his shoes within the gate ? said, that if he did not take care his head should not long be on his shoulders ; that he was a native of the country, and that his situation with me should not protect him from his vengeance ; he concluded with peremptorily ordering him as he valued his head, never to come within his compound again, as he would not receive any message through him ; that the king had appointed Moncourtuse interpreter for the English, and through him only would he receive any messages. My poor

fellow made the best defence in his power, but all he said only tended to irritate the savage the more; his eldest son, who was present, desired my interpreter to be silent, and at length soothed his father into calmness. As my interpreter went to the mhee whoongee, at the request of the enga's whoon, who acted in the business by the authority of the heir-apparent, I ordered my interpreter to wait on him and represent the outrageous treatment he had received; to inform him that I was extremely offended at this violation of the rights of hospitality, and that unless some means were adopted to check the violence and folly of the whoonghee, it would be impossible to establish friendship between the two nations, as it was apparent, he sought every means in his power to involve us in a quarrel. I appealed to him, to say what had been my conduct since I arrived at court, that I had used every endeavour, consistent with my duty, to conciliate the esteem of the Burmhan court and people, and that I, and all my people had been particularly attentive to this very man, until driven away by repeated acts of violence; for he was one of those characters, who intoxicated with power and prosperity, trample on all rights and spurn at all obligation, illiberally misconstruing complaisance as fear, and donations as tribute. He listened very attentively to my interpreter, and sorrow and vexation were

fully expressed in his countenance: he said he was extremely sorry to learn that the mhee whoonghee had so far forgot what he owed to his country, and the dignity of his situation; but that he was a man raised from the dregs of society by his majesty, and knew not how to behave himself; that his conduct in the present instance was very brutal, and that he should immediately inform the Enga Tekaing of it, and hoped in future to prevent my having such just cause for being offended; he entreated that I would overlook what was past, and said, he would send for my interpreter again to-morrow, and inform him of the success of his endeavours.

In the morning a procession passed by from the fort, of water carriers, who were going down to the river for water to purify the white elephant; these were proceeded by the palace band of music, dancers, male and female, and tumblers; and the rear closed by woondocks, and a great number of the inferior officers of the palace. About eleven o'clock they returned in the same order.

*August 5.* Mrs. Jhansey returned the copy of the letter that had been given her under pretence of being afraid to deliver it; but, notwithstanding her report, I have no doubt it has been seen by his majesty. I received a packet of letters from Rangoon, with a memorial and address from



the merchants there, but of an old date. While at dinner of late, I have shut my doors to prevent obtrusion; this evening some of the mhee whoonghee's servants came but were denied admittance.

*August 6.* In the morning I corrected the clock by solar time, preparatory to an observation of Jupiter's satellites, of which I expect to get two or three this month.

In the morning Mr. Moncourtuse called, and informed me, that by order of the enga's whoon, he had been with the mhee whoonghee's eldest son, a young man of some promise, who is in the Enga Tekaing's suite; and had been ordered by the prince to endeavour to conciliate his father to my interests. The young man told him that he had expostulated with his father, and hoped he had wrought a change in his mind favourable to me; that to-morrow, being full moon and a holiday, nothing could be done, but if he would call on Tuesday, he would go with him to his father. From the son's house he went to the mhee whoonghee, who asked him if his son had said any thing to him: he repeated the directions he had received for attending him on Tuesday: to which he replied, Very well, do as he has ordered you.

About noon the mhee whoonghee's woondock, or lieutenant of cavalry, came to my house. As he has ever conducted himself with moderation and propriety, and is the only respectable man

that I have seen about the mhee whoonghee, I was glad to see him, and received him with attention. He seemed to have something to communicate, but my interpreter being out, I desired him to call again in the afternoon. He returned between three and four o'clock, P.M., when I desired him to deliver what he had to communicate: he now, however, affected to have called accidentally to pay his respects; but I had too much reason to suspect his visit was not accidental, as I know that he is not a constant attendant on the mhee whoonghee, and never employed but on particular occasions; and, as he had once or twice repeated, when with me in the morning, that if Mr. Rowland, my interpreter, had any thing to say, he should tell it to him; and, that if I had any message to send to the king, he would undertake to deliver it. The change in his style at this time I attribute to the polite attention with which I had received him, as it was evident from the diffidence with which he first approached me, that he expected a different reception. Notwithstanding his present reserve, I was resolved not to let slip the occasion of conveying through him my sentiments of the perverse conduct of the Burmhan court, and particular rudeness of the mhee whoonghee. My language fluctuated as the occasion required, between the extremes of hostility and friendship. I endeavoured to im-

press him with a sense of the destructive consequences that must flow from their indulging any hostile designs against the English nation; and of the benefits that must accrue to them from our friendship; I convinced him I was perfectly informed of the motives which influenced the conduct of the court towards me, and was highly indignant at the treatment I had experienced; but, that from the good-will I bore towards the Burmhan nation, I was still willing to forget what was past, if suitable apologies were made me for the insults that had been offered. He endeavoured to soften me by an appeal to my good sense, &c., but appeared to be too fully impressed by the truth of what I had stated to endeavour to extenuate. He added, that from the moderation and good-will for his nation which I had ever shewn, he hoped that I would not suffer my anger against individuals, to influence my conduct against the whole; and that I would have patience for a few days longer, when he hoped something would be done to satisfy me; for I had told him that I should only wait a few days longer, and if I then saw no change of conduct, would leave Amarapoorah without ceremony. I gave him the Burmhan translation of my last memorial to the looto to read, which he did with great attention, and when he returned it, said it was very just and moderate. He then desired

permission to retire, and to call on me occasionally.

I have been informed from several quarters that the cause of the sudden change of court favour against me, arose, as I suspected, from the influence of the Assamese party. His majesty, at their instance, having renewed his intentions of placing the father of his new mistress, who is a great favourite, on the throne of his rival, Seruck Dheo Mah Rajah, sovereign of lower Assam; this man having promised to become his vassal, and forward his views on Bengal, However wild it may appear, I am well informed that the invasion of Chittagong was undertaken with serious views of conquest and of penetrating Bengal by that route: and that the Enga Tekaing, prompted by a better genius than in general influences them, consulted every intelligent foreigner on the feasibility of the scheme; and being convinced of the ruinous consequences that must flow from the just vengeance of the English, he at length prevailed with his father to desist from the attempt at that time. But it is also well known, that he still retains the inclination to renew the attempt the first favourable opportunity, and does not want for prompters to stimulate him.

My forcible representations to the mayhoon and rayhoon in March last, undoubtedly put a



stop for the time to the Assam expedition; and the strong language I have since been obliged to use, has kept them ever since wavering in the balance. Deficient in judgment to see the whole of their danger, and elated with their success against the barbarous borderers of their country, yet alarmed at my steadiness and candour, they have recourse to procrastination, the refuge of weak minds; hoping, perhaps, for some turn in the scale of politics, that may afford them an opportunity of gratifying their ambition without incurring the risk of our enmity.

*August 8.* In the morning I received a visit from the reverend father Louis, an Italian missionary. He appeared an intelligent well-bred man, spoke French tolerably well, considering he has been near twenty-one years in this country, and mostly at the remote stations of the mission. He speaks, reads, and writes the Burmhan language very well; he answered all my inquiries in a very satisfactory manner, and gave me more information of the geography of the Burmhan dominions, than I had been able to obtain before. He staid with me about two hours, was very thankful for some trifles I had sent him, and made a tender of his best services. He is frequently consulted by his majesty on points of chronology and medicine, and is sometimes consulted on politics: so that if he is sincere, he may

be useful ; it as been my endeavour to secure his friendship by every attention in my power, and I hope I have succeeded. After the reverend father had left me Mr. Moncourtuse called, and informed me that he had waited on the mhee whoonghee according to appointment, and after a slight apology for a new lie, informed me that the mhee whoonghee had told him that nothing could be done until the mayhoon of Hunzawuddy arrived, and that they expected him in twelve or fifteen days. As it appeared to me that the whoonghee's son was not present according to promise, I asked him, what prevented his attending? For this also a lie was ready. The Enga Tekaing was unwell, and he was obliged to attend him. He added that the whoonghee was somewhat more gracious this day, and had desired him to tell my interpreter that he forgave what was past, and permitted him to come to his house with Mr. Moncourtuse ; but that he must never presume to enter his or any of the whoonghee's court-yards with his shoes on. Thus ends this act of the farce ; and, just as I expected, for when I first learnt they had sent for the mayhoon I never hoped to bring my business to a conclusion until he arrived : but as the time of his arrival was so very uncertain, I did not think it justifiable to remain idle. He was first sent for the 15th of last month, or twenty-four days ago,

and might have been up by this time. The second despatch for him was sent off by the Enga Tekaing, the third of this month, with directions to come up immediately, if he wished to see his mother before she died, as she is said to be very ill, and not expected to live many days. It was then said he would be up in ten or twelve days, as he has a pious affection for his mother, and I know that a war-boat can get down in four days, and return in eight more; but five days are now elapsed since that despatch, and I am now told he is expected in fifteen more, so that his arrival is still very problematical; and I am not certain whether the mother's sickness is not a story trumped up for the occasion. Be that as it may, this new breach of promise was sufficient ground for doubting their sincerity; I therefore desired Mr. M. to tell the enga's whoon, that his majesty's ministers had forfeited all credit with me, that I no longer wished to treat with them on any terms, and only requested he would so far befriend me, as to obtain permission for my returning to Rangoon.

The English merchant has not been able to dispose of any of his goods, his treatment and fate seemingly depending on mine.

*August 9.* In the morning, I sent my interpreter to the mayhoon's mother's, to make a tender of any medical assistance in our power, and to give

him an opportunity of seeing, whether she was ill or not. He was admitted to her private apartment, and found her in a very feeble state, but better than she had been; he, however, thinks she cannot live long. Both she and her husband returned many thanks for my attention, but declined, as I expected, accepting my offer. From them he went to the enga's whoon, to deliver a message similar to what I had communicated to Moncourtuse yesterday. The whoon was just setting off for the palace to attend at the ceremony of delivering the white elephants to his majesty (to these ceremonies there is no end), he, however, promised to communicate my wishes to the Enga Tekaing; and told Mr. R. that he was very sorry that all his endeavours to expedite my business had been so ineffectual. But his sincerity may be well doubted, for it is easy to perceive, they are all acting in conformity to the king's wishes. He has, however, the address to disguise his duplicity better than others; one of their aims is, I have reason to believe, to detain me here till the anniversary of the candle feast, which takes place the full moon after the autumnal equinox; when all the tributary princes and great officers pay homage to his majesty on his throne: and when they intend to gratify his pride and vanity, by exhibiting me as one of his abject vassals, as they did Captain Symes; but in this, perhaps, they may be mistaken.



*August 12.* I have been obliged to commence a course of mercury again, the inflammation in my liver threatening much. This day I confined Mr. Burnett's servant for various thefts, and forming improper connexions. I was disappointed last night in my observations on Jupiter's satellites by the cloudy weather. In the evening Mr. Moncourtuse called on me with a message from the Enga's whoon, informing me that he had had an interview with the whoonghee at the Enga Tekaing's, when the mhee whoonghee promised the prince he would lay my memorials before his majesty, and finally settle my business as soon as the mayhoon of Hunzawuddy arrived; but that he could not do any thing till then, as it was necessary to consult him. I understand that the mhee whoonghee's eldest son has been appointed to the vacant place of attawhoon in the Enga Tekaing's household. His father had told me, when at Mheghoon, that he was to have been appointed mayhoon of Arrakan, but I suppose he finds it necessary to have him at court, as he has many enemies. It is a proof, however, at the same time of his influence with his majesty, as the appointment had been promised to a brother-in-law of the mayhoon of Hunzawuddy. I was again disappointed of my observation this night by the cloudy weather.

*August 13.* This morning I learnt that his ma-

jesty had degraded the pacaam and somba whoonghees, on account of some religious opinions respecting the candle feast. The Pacaam whoonghee has been treated with particular severity ; he has been turned out of his house, and deprived of all the insignia of his high rank. On account of this punishment, the guards at the palace-gates have been reinforced, and a stricter discipline ordained. Two seraghdohs, or poonghee bishops, have also been confined in irons. This severity, it is supposed, is occasioned by the intrigues of the mhee whoonghee, who aspires at the pacaam whoonghee's place. The pacaam is a venerable and respectable old man, and a general favourite, having filled the office of whoonghee with reputation ever since the first accession of the family of Alam-praw to the throne. It is true he is now unfit for the station, but his age, and his merits, certainly entitle him to an honourable tranquillity.

After a fair trial, Mr. B.'s servant being convicted of various thefts, I ordered him to be punished with one hundred lashes, of which he received seventy this morning. The Burmhan woman, who was the receiver of part of his plunder, having absconded, I sent my interpreter to complain of her to the enga's whoon, who immediately sent out people to apprehend her. He confirmed to Mr. B. the information communicated to me yesterday by Mr. Moncourtuse.

*August 14.* In the morning my interpreter went to the enga's whoon to settle the business of the goods, &c., that had been stolen from me ; when one of his writers came and told him, that he was at the palace when his majesty asked his courtiers why I was not dispatched, and gave orders for my business being immediately settled ; he, therefore desired Mr. R. to send Moncourtuse to him. The mhee whoonghee's eldest son having sent for my interpreter, he waited on him ; when he informed him, that the woman, who had received the stolen goods from my servant, had fled to him for protection, that he would take care to have her punished and the articles returned ; he, therefore, requested I would prosecute the business no further. He and his wife further said, that they were afraid I was offended with them, as I had not lately sent to them ; he assured them it was by no means the case. They then desired he would call on them more frequently, as they should be happy to render me any service in their power. I also sent my interpreter to inquire after the health of the mayhoon's mother ; she returned her thanks, and said she was much better, and expected her son in two or three days ; three several boats having been dispatched for him. While my interpreter was absent, I had sent for Moncourtuse, and ordered him to go to the enga's whoon, and inform him, that I was fully deter-

mined to wait here no longer than the present week, and that if permission was not granted me to retire in that time, I should go without further ceremony ; at the same time I had not heard of the palace report. In the evening he called on me on his return from the enga's whoon, and said, he had received orders from him to go the next day to one of the attawhoons of the palace, to learn the truth of the report. I was again disappointed this day of a view of Jupiter.

*August 15.* Mr. Moncourtuse called this morning about ten o'clock, on his way to the enga's whoon ; according to appointment, my interpreter went with him ; but when they arrived at the whoon's, he was asleep. These people are the most irregular in their hours, as in every thing else, of any men that I ever met with. In the evening, Moncourtuse pretended lameness, so that, I suppose, the enga's whoon was not serious when he desired him to wait on the attawhoon. In the evening it was rumoured, that a Chinese ambassador had arrived, with a woman for his majesty's seraglio ; and that we were to have an audience at the same time. These rumours have been frequently circulated, to try what effect they would have on me, but I have uniformly treated them with contempt.

*August 16.* In the morning I received a visit from the reverend Father Louis. Mr. Keys, at my re-



quest, had supplied him with some medicines, and the chief purport (or rather pretence) of his visit was to obtain directions for the application. A low native Portuguese, who calls himself one of the king's bombardiers, but particularly attached to the service of his grandson, came with him; and the padre wanted to have him present at our conversation. I thought I perceived a change in his manner this time; he said, he had not seen the king, or the Enga Tekaing, and could not go to them unless particularly sent for. He informed me that the king was desirous of complying with my wishes, but that the prince, influenced by the many incendiary reports, had strongly advised his father not to admit of my residing in the country. He also said, that a report prevailed, that the disbanded troops were ordered to be reassembled, and that it was generally understood, that an expedition of consequence would be set on foot immediately after the rains; but that the object was unknown. He told me, he waited on me to take leave, as he meant to quit Amarapoorah in three or four days. This surprised me a little, because he had promised at our last interview to remain here a month, or until I went to Rangoon, and would use his best endeavours to forward my views; this I mentioned to him, when he said he would willingly stay if he could be of any service to

me; in consequence I told him plainly, that if he would effect an interview between the Enga Tekaing and me, so as to do away his prejudices, I would reward him handsomely for his trouble. He disavowed all pecuniary views on his own part, but said, if I would enable him to fee certain officers, he would use his best endeavours in my behalf; he then left me. After he was gone, I learnt that he had been several times at the palace, and I supposed had his orders.

Arrived a Mr. Lane, a Rangoon trader: he waited on me in the evening, but had nothing particular to inform me of, having left Rangoon a few days after Mr. Reeves. I fear he has come to a bad market, as the latter has not yet been able to do any business; and, it is generally understood, that government has interfered to prevent it. Mr. Moncourtuse has not appeared this day; the stolen dog, and a piece of cachedas has been restored, agreeably to the mhee whoonghee's son's promise.

*August 17.* This morning Moncourtuse called on me, and pleaded lameness for his absence. He asked, if he should call on the attawhoon? As the time was past when it might have been useful, I told him it was quite indifferent to me whether he went or not; and that I did not consider him as acting under my directions in the business.

*August 18.* Last night a rich Burmhan was be-

headed by order of his majesty; his body exposed, and his property confiscated. A party of Chinese, with presents from a frontier province, have arrived, and the sheradoghee, who came up the river with me, and was sent on an embassy to China in April last, has returned with them. It appears, or rather, it is said, he was prevented proceeding by some insurrection in China.

This day the nakhan of Rangoon arrived in nine days; the people of his boat say, that the boat dispatched from hence for the mayhoon the 16th of July last, had got no further than Prone; the boat that was despatched by the Engai Tekaing the 3rd inst., they saw at Pagain; and the last boat, a little below Keouptooloung; so that they have been purposely delayed. The nakhan brought a present of a white deer for his majesty, and the government's statement of a cause lately decided at Rangoon against an Armenian merchant, Aga John, lately deceased, the heir intending to appeal to the king.

*August 20.* In the morning I sent my interpreter to make a last effort with the attawhoon of the palace, to deliver a letter from me to his majesty; but both of those he saw positively refused, saying, that they dared not. One of them said, his majesty's sword is too sharp; you see a rich man was beheaded but yesterday without committing any fault. He then stated his case; the unfor-

fortunate man had been renter of a considerable district, and amassed wealth by oppression; complaints were lodged, he was tried, found guilty, mulcted, and declared incapable of serving his majesty, who ordered him to retire from court, and never appear before him again. Unfortunately for him, his ambition would not permit him to remain quiet in obscurity; his wealth enabled him to find patrons, and through them he twice petitioned his majesty for permission to reside at the capital, and be enrolled as one of his merchants; these petitions were rejected. He, notwithstanding, persevered to a third attempt, and to ensure success, offered a considerable bribe to one of his majesty's favourite daughters to present it, which she undertook. The king, on receiving the petition, was extremely enraged, and exclaimed, I have repeatedly ordered this villain not to presume to approach me; let him be immediately apprehended and confined. This order was given at four o'clock in the evening, and immediately executed. The man, too late dreading the effects of his majesty's wrath, immediately began to scatter his wealth among the royal family; money and jewels were sent to all such as were supposed to have influence; the bribes were received, and he was told not to suffer any apprehension; however, at seven, the same evening, his majesty ordered that he should be



beheaded, and his property confiscated. The sentence was immediately carried into execution, and the myrmidons of the palace took possession of his property. His body is exposed above ground, pinned to the earth, where it is to rot; the king's doctor cut off the tip of his nose, ears, lips, tongue, and fingers, which, with some of his blood is to form a compound in some medicine of wonderful efficacy in ensuring longevity, and prosperity to those who are so happy as to obtain a portion of it from his majesty's bounty. This is one of the palace nostrums, of which there are many others equally mystic in the preparation, and wonderful in the operation; these his majesty occasionally dispenses to the credulous multitude. The fall of a rich man proves a source of revenue beyond the amount of his immediate assets. His books are carefully examined, and all whose names are there entered, whether the account has been settled or not, are sued for the full amount of the entry, and are obliged to pay the demand, without daring to demur or question the legality of the action; and names are often inserted on the occasion. My cash-keeper is among the sufferers on this; his name is down for 600 ticals, which he solemnly declares he paid near two years ago; and many other merchants in town have been charged in sums proportioned to their supposed fortunes. Exclusive of these mulcts, the

defunct was found possessed of cash to the amount of 40,000 ticals: and jewels and merchandise amounting to as much more. The principal part of this sum the king, it is said, has given to his favourite grandson. I have this day hired four boats to carry myself and servants to Rangoon, and paid half the hire in advance. In the evening I received a packet from Rangoon, containing a letter from Madras, advising me of the projected expedition against Manilla, and the failure of Lord Malmesbury's negotiations.

*September 5.* A conspiracy, in which the mhee whoonghee and his sons are deeply implicated, has just been discovered by the confession of one of the conspirators: their plan of operation was, that when he had marched with the army to the hills, about a day's march, he was to make a signal, and then the conspirators in the fort, &c., were to arm themselves and followers from his magazine, and set fire to the city in various quarters. This was to be a signal for him to return and complete the business. This confession was immediately communicated to his majesty, who gave orders for the mhee whoonghee's being seized and his house searched. The arms were found as reported, and the same confession extorted from several others of the conspirators: among the rest was my acquaintance the young chobwa and his companion.

The young chobwa was severely tortured and confessed, that when drunk, the mhee whoonghee had sworn him to join his party; I have often warned this young man of the danger attending his dissolute courses, and constantly re-used indulging him in the least when he came to my house; in consequence he had not been near me for a month past; the last time I saw him he came to ask my advice respecting a family feud: his wife and he had quarrelled, she had left his house in consequence, put herself under the protection of the Enga Tekaing, and insisted on being divorced. I advised him to settle the matter amicably, but he did not seem to approve of my advice; and I have since heard that they were divorced; and if I am not much mistaken she has been the mediate, if not the proximate cause of his ruin, and of the plots being discovered. It is a part of the Burmhan policy to give young ladies of the court in marriage to the heirs of the chobwas and other great subjects, with a view to secure their fidelity, or report their defection or mal-practices. For this purpose the queen mother, the queens, and princesses, take the daughters of the courtiers under their protection, and educate them in their respective palaces; a plan which the parents readily agree to, as affording a certain provision for their daughters. The lady above alluded to, is the

daughter of a deceased whoonghee, educated in the Enga Tekaing's palace, and given by him in marriage to the young chobwa, who was under his particular patronage. She is a smart, sensible, little woman, and it would have been happy for him had he been more attentive to her; but, exclusive of his drunkenness, he had a dozen concubines in different parts of the town. But to return from this digression; when the mhce whoonghee was brought before his majesty and confronted by his sons, he confessed his having erred in amassing such a quantity of arms without acquainting his majesty, but professed they were intended to be used only against his enemies, and denied every other part of the accusation. It is said, he was severely tortured by ligatures on his limbs, and beating him over the breast, joints, shins, and back, with a bar of iron; but without effect; and that he was afterwards loaded with irons, and confined in the palace prison. His sons also were subjected to the same treatment, and every suspected person apprehended and confined in various prisons. The enga's whoon has been appointed generalissimo, and taken command of the new levies, &c.

*September 6.* Yesterday being full moon, and held holy by the Burmhans, prevented any thing being done in the affair of the conspirators, except precautions against surprise or riots. Horse-



men patrolled the streets at night, and the inhabitants kept quiet within their houses, trembling for the consequences; so that after dark, the city was as still as a desert. I also thought it necessary to bring my guard and servants into my house, and shut the doors at night. This day, however, it was expected that the prisoners would be executed; I, therefore, sent my interpreter into the fort to collect intelligence. On his return he informed me, that his majesty had granted the mhee whoonghee and his party their lives, at the intercession of the queen mother; that his irons had been taken off, but that he was still in confinement. The Enga Tekaing, and the rest of the princes of the blood, violently opposed his majesty's clemency; and it was still doubtful what would be the result of their opposition. The reasons assigned for his majesty's clemency are, that this man was brought up with him from his infancy, they were play-fellows, and educated together, he being a favourite slave in his majesty's family; this early attachment was further cemented by his fidelity to his majesty when in great distress during the reign of the late Ching Houza. It is said that Ching Houza, being jealous of his majesty, deprived him of his patrimonial estate, and all his slaves and property, and confined him the last three years of his unfortunate reign in a mean

house at Chegham; forbidding his subjects to shew him any respect or attention. Yet at the risk of his life, the mhee whoonghee privately supplied him with money and provisions during the whole of that time, and was afterwards actively instrumental in advancing him to the throne. The remembrances of these faithful services had induced his majesty to pardon him on two former occasions, that he had been led out for execution for drunkenness, and to which he now owes a third escape.

Another relation is, that in addition to the above, this man with three other associates, were a principal means of his majesty's present elevation; and that after he was quietly fixed on the throne, he had allowed them to fix their reward, and they had, in consequence, exacted an oath from him, that he was, on no pretence, to take away their lives. Sometime afterwards, one of them having offended his majesty, in the heat of passion, he had ordered him to be put to death; but had suffered so much since from remorse, that it is thought he will never consent to this man's punishment further, than by deprivation of office and fortunes. There is nothing improbable in these relations, and I have heard them from such various quarters, that I have little doubt of the authenticity of the facts; but there is another motive which appears to me as more strongly in-

fluencing his majesty. The mhee whoonghee, from whatever cause, was intrusted with more power than any other man in the empire; his will was law without appeal; he was generally detested, and as much feared; clownish and brutal in his manners, and depraved in his appetites; not remarkable for talents of any kind, except those of abjectly cringing to his majesty, and his favourite children, &c.; hence, therefore, his majesty's partiality: he was a necessary engine for a despotic government; his vices, and low origin, perhaps, were considered as a security for his fidelity; his dependence resting solely on his master's protection, who made him the stalking-horse to screen him from the odium of occasional severity, or other unpopular measures; and opposed him as a counterpoise to the power and ambition of his children. Whoever searches the annals of tyranny, will find that a policy of this kind is always among the wretched shifts of despots; and, it is more than probable, that the avowed enmity of the royal family, especially of the heir-apparent will secure his impunity, if not occasion his reinstatement. In the evening, I went to examine if my boats were ready, and found them sufficiently so, to admit of embarking the remainder of my baggage. I mean, however, to suspend my preparations a day or two, to see what will be the effect of this revolution, espec-

ally as it is confidently said that the mayhoon will be here in a day or two ; although, I must confess, I have but small hopes of success. The mhee whoonghee was certainly my ostensible enemy, but I doubt much whether he was not secretly encouraged by the master-hand. I have heard, that when the news of my arrival was first reported to his majesty by the mayhoon, he called a council of his principal officers, who were unanimous in their opinion that an alliance with the English would tend to his majesty's honour and advantage, except the mhee whoonghee ; who was uniformly in opposition, until after his public interviews with me at Mheghoon, where it appears my conduct pleased him so much, that on his joining his majesty at Keounmeoun, he was as loud in my praise. In consequence, his majesty took an opportunity, in full court, of reproaching him for his tergiversation, sneeringly adding, I suppose the Resident has fee'd you well for this conversion. Piqued at the severity of this reproof, he has ever since secretly been my enemy, and availed himself of the first plausible pretence of again opposing me openly, and this I have experienced in all its bitterness ; and, as it has been totally undeserved on my part, it certainly tends to confirm this report. My situation is truly distressing, exposed to the brutal insults of a lawless people, under circumstances totally unprovided



for, destitute of the encouragement and appropriate instructions from my employers, 18,000 rupees in advance for the service, without the authority or certainty of reimbursement, and almost destitute of hope of success, the consciousness of having deserved it is my only support.

*September 7.* I understand that his majesty has sent off fresh couriers to Iamai, to inquire into the truth of the Siamese being in force there; as the former intelligence was brought by a servant of the mhee whoonghee's, and is now supposed to be fabricated to afford him a pretence for raising an army; on the report of these couriers his fate, it is said, depends. He is still kept in the palace prison, his majesty being apprehensive that the princes would have him secretly put to death were he exposed to their violence. Two men were executed this day for murder. I heard that the mayhoon has arrived at the last chokey, Keoup-touloung, and ordered a boat to be hired, as I intend sending my interpreter to congratulate him on his arrival, &c.

*September 8.* I sent off my interpreter early in the morning to meet the mayhoon, and deliver to him a letter. About twelve A.M. he returned, the mayhoon having arrived with his family at the ghaut; he informed me that the mayhoon had received him very kindly, and expressed great sorrow for the insults I had received, adding, it was

my own fault, as he had warned me against staying. He apologized for his countrymen, by saying, they were totally ignorant of the customs of Europeans, and knew not the advantages that were to be derived from their friendship, or danger to be apprehended from their enmity; and that the king was so absolute, that the few who knew better were afraid to speak to him. The inhee whoonghee, he said, had solemnly promised him to do my business; but there was nothing further to be said of him, and he must now begin every thing anew. In my letter I had requested of him to obtain his majesty's permission for my returning; to which he replied, on reading it, No, no, he must not go away in that manner; tell him I request he will have a little patience, and, in a few days I hope to be able to rectify former mistakes." On the whole my interpreter informs me, that he appeared sincerely interested in my welfare, spoke of me with the familiarity of settled friendship, and expressed a great desire to see me; in all which, his wife, who has a large influence, as before noticed, joined. My presents to their children had also caused them to remember me. In the evening, about four o'clock, he and his family went to his house in the fort. Notwithstanding these favourable assurances, I shall not be surprised to find him fall in with the court

measures so soon as he learns his majesty's sentiments.

*September 9.* In order to maintain the favourable prepossessions which my former attentions to the mayhoon's wife and children seem to have established in his mind, I sent her this morning a very handsome present, and the children a decanter of Hoffman's coloured comfits. I learnt this day that the mhee whoonghee's friends had sent a war-boat with valuable presents to the mayhoon, a day or two before he arrived, to engage his interest in behalf of the mhee whoonghee; and, that it is supposed he had interceded with his majesty for him, as he and his sons were released from their confinement. This day he was restored to his appointment and former power.

*September 10.* In the morning I sent my interpreter to the enga's whoon, pacaam whoonghee's, and mayhoon's: the two former confirmed the intelligence of yesterday respecting the mhee whoonghee; and told my interpreter, that he need not trouble himself in coming to them now, as the king had ordered that every thing relative to the strangers, should be left to the entire management of the mayhoon. The mayhoon told him, that he wished much to see me to have some serious conversation; but that he was so continually called for by the king that he was afraid of

appointing a time for meeting for fear of interruption ; and, that so soon as he could get a spare day he would send to inform me ; he hoped in a few days to settle my business to my satisfaction ; that yesterday when he was at the palace, he took his writer with him, to write down and send off immediately to the looto any orders his majesty might give respecting me ; that, after some time, his majesty had said, "The Resident has been waiting here a long time." To which he replied, "Yes, my lord ;" and was in great hopes his majesty would have proceeded, but unfortunately he did not ; the discourse turned on sky-rockets : his majesty having cut down a very large tree when at Keounmeoun, with an intention of making the largest rocket that had ever been seen, capable of holding 2,000 or 3,000 viss of powder ; and now offered as a reward, a piece of silk, to any one who would undertake to bore it for him, and then the court broke up. However, he did not despair but that his majesty would again think of me in a few days more. He then asked Mr. Rowland why I had not been to the looto to receive my commission ? Mr. R. told him he believed it was because a proper place was not assigned me ; to which he rejoined, that the looto was a public court for the great officers of state, and that no respect for persons would be shewn there ; and that it was absolutely necessary for me to go as a private person ;



he had done so, and every other officer in the Burmhan dominions. He requested that I would be advised by him, and receive the commission, when I might leave Amarapoorah, and he would take care to send after me every grant I might require. Thus easily do these people reconcile to themselves every absurdity that they have once admitted into their scheme of policy ! In order to degrade me I am to be made a Burmhan, that is, to receive a commission, and take an oath of allegiance, by which I make myself amenable to their laws, or rather, caprices ; at the same time deriving no power or advantage by holding such commission. And thus easily do they suppose, that I am to forget all the mortifications and insults I have received ; but let the risk be what it will, I will convince them of their error before I leave this place. Yesterday the prince of Prone sent for Mr. Reeves, the English merchant, to bring him some goods he wanted to look at, the latter demurred until he should have my permission. I directed him to indulge the prince, or any others of the royal family, as far as was consistent with his interest. He accordingly went this day, and carried several articles for sale with him. He was permitted to walk with his shoes to the ladder ; but no mat being placed for him to sit on, he spread his handkerchief, saying, he was not accustomed to sit on the bare floor. The prince's

treasurer officiated in cheapening the articles the prince wanted, namely, some glass quicksilvered globes ; and wanting to beat him down, Mr. R. told him he was an Englishman, and had but one price, which he had already fixed, but that the whole amount would be but as a grain of sand to the prince ; and that if he thought he would do him the honour to accept of them, he would give them with pleasure : to which the prince somewhat smartly replied, he had nothing to do with these things, he left it to his treasurer ; who then agreed for the price of eight globes, and paid the sum of 150 ticals : the watches and other articles were too expensive. After this important business was despatched, the prince retired to an inner apartment and sent for Mr. Reeves. He was surrounded by his wives and family, and Mr. Reeves was indulged with permission to set with his back against the wall, and stretch his legs out ; and had the high honour conferred on him of being permitted to drink in the prince's presence ; for complaining of thirst, the prince ordered him water in a golden cup. While here, the prince and the ladies asked him a number of questions ; commissioned him to procure them many articles, and even offered to pay him the money in advance. On the whole, he says, the prince's conduct was correct and polite : he asked him only one silly question, and that was, whether he could not get a glass for him,

that would shew a person naked, when they had clothes on? He said that when his uncle took Siam, he got one at Baucock. Mr. R. asked him if he had seen it: this question he declined answering directly, but insisted on the fact. Mr. Reeves observing one of his children ill of the boss and worms, he asked if they had no medicine to cure the complaint? The prince said no, and expressed a wish to procure some; upon which Mr. R. recommended his applying to the Resident for his surgeon, who he said he was sure would be happy to render him any service in his power; but to this no reply was made. Mr R. also took an opportunity of mentioning how much he had been distressed by the want of a currency here, but to this remark the prince also was silent. They kept him four or five hours and were then unwilling to let him go, and ordered him to return again to take a particular account of their commissions; he says, the prince's house was very clean and neat, and what he saw of his furniture and utensils suitable to his dignity.

*September 11.* Late last night an illegitimate favourite son of the king, named Momutza, sent for my interpreter; on his return I learnt it was to beg a spaniel puppy of me. As I have embraced every opportunity of gratifying the royal family that has occurred, I therefore sent him the dog, and a few trifles also for his mother, who is

a favourite concubine. They appeared much gratified by my attention, and in the course of the morning returned me a present of two small elephants' teeth, for which I had to pay as usual by giving something to four servants who brought them. I was pleased, however, by the promptitude of this return, as I have long been unused to the slightest mark of civility.

*September 12.* As I had not heard from the mayhoon yesterday, I sent my interpreter to him this morning: he had nothing new to communicate, but desired I would send him a few lines requesting leave to quit Amarapoorah. I therefore immediately sent him the memorial and translation which the whoonghees had refused to receive, as conveying a full account of what had passed, with my wishes: this he received and promised to lay before his majesty; he made the same apology as before for not appointing a time for seeing me. In the evening, the boat mangies having behaved insolently to me, and endeavoured to extort a further advance, I lodged a complaint against them with the mayhoon, and had them confined in his house.

I received a letter this day from Mr. Lane, trader, representing the oppressive usage of the government of Rangoon to him.

*September 13.* In the morning I sent my interpreter to prefer my complaint against the man-



gies, but they had managed to make the mayhoon's wife their intercessor; he therefore requested I would overlook their offence for this time. He shewed my interpreter the state of confusion his house was in, so as to be unfit to receive me there; he therefore requested that the interview might take place on board his boat, and sent to have it prepared for the occasion, and promised to send me word when he would be able to meet me. The pretence was plausible enough, and although in strictness he ought to have visited me; yet in the present state of things, I thought it most prudent to wave punctilio, as the only means of coming to an explanation with these wayward people.

*September 14.* The mayhoon sent an apology for not seeing me this day, as he and his wife were summoned to the palace, with their presents; but he hoped it would afford him an opportunity, of saying something to his majesty, in favour of my business.

*September 15.* Early in the morning, Mr. Keys waited on the engai's whoon, by particular request, to prescribe something for a pain in his ear.

About a quarter before ten A.M. the Mayhoon sent me word, that he would be glad to see me, at his boat, and a little after passed by from the fort. About ten, I followed him accompanied by Mr. Keys. His boat was very decently prepared,

and chairs placed for us, one on each hand; he being seated with his back to the stern, within a little railed division; a piece of state parade, which he did not assume, on either of my former visits. He rose to receive me, and was cheerful and affable. After the usual compliments, he asked me why I would not receive his majesty's commission; that without it I should not be respected, or have any power, &c. &c. I told him, I had never refused to receive his majesty's commission, that it had never been regularly tendered to me, nor did I even now know the full purport of it, as such commissions were unnecessary for persons in my situation: permission to act under the commissions we hold from our governments, and orders to the ministers, generals, governors, &c., to respect us, and forward our addresses to court, being all we required. I must therefore now ask his excellency, what was the real intent of the commission? should I, by receiving it, subject myself to the authority of the government? He said no, his majesty very well knew, I could not be subject to the Burmhan laws, but that while I officiated in his dominions, I must act under his commission. I then asked, supposing I agreed to receiving the commission, on the above terms, what was next to be done? He said I must go to the looto, (where a place would be appointed for me; but could not, or would not, specify the

exact situation.) I was there to receive the commission, and then go to one of the pagodas in the fort, where I was to take the oath of fidelity to his majesty, according to the Burmhan form, and then return, and immediately afterwards proceed to Rangoon. He exerted all his power of rhetoric, to convince me of the necessity for taking this oath, and to reconcile me to it, in particular, he repeatedly urged, that the Burmhans would always suspect my having sinister designs against their country, unless I took it. I must confess this case of the oath puzzled me extremely. On the one hand, I knew of no precedent in point, or the extent to which they might apply it; or how to reconcile it with my allegiance to my own sovereign, and duty to my employers; on the other, I saw the mayhoon had success in this point so much at heart, that I wished on every account to oblige him; and at the same time, was fully aware of the necessity of eradicating the jealous prejudices of the court against us, by every testimonial of good faith. I, therefore, determined to use this concession, as a means of obtaining the concessions I wanted from them: and as I can have no motive herein, but the advancement of the interests of my country, I trust this deviation will stand excused. It would have been no difficult matter to have confounded, if not convinced, my opponent; but as I was not arguing for victory, but merely to leave the matter

doubtful, and make my concession of the more value, I pushed it no further than necessary. Our discussion was carried on with perfect good temper; he seemed perfectly willing to be pleased, and effect his purpose by persuasion; and I exerted my best endeavours to preserve his good opinion. About eleven tea was served, and as I had indulged him with a full hearing at the commencement, I now requested a patient hearing on his part, which very much to his credit, he gave me, without any unnecessary interruption. I recapitulated every thing that had occurred during his absence, opposed the conduct of the English court to that of the Burmhan, and made him feel for the honour of his country. The result of all was, his requesting me to draw up the points I wished to have conceded to me in short letters, with a Burmhan translation, paragraph by paragraph, in the opposite column. About half-past twelve I took my leave of him; and in justice to him I must say, his conduct throughout reflects the highest credit on him, and places him far above any of his countrymen that I have seen, as a man of sense, politeness, and humanity. I have curtailed much of what passed, as it would only be a repetition of what has been so frequently stated in this journal. At my request the mayhoon sent one of his private secretaries to write the Burmhan translation, and immediately that I got home I drew up a letter ac-



according to his desire, and had it translated and copied fair, ready to be sent to-morrow morning. This is the anniversary of my leaving Calcutta, and a pretty twelve months' employment I have had of it. At night the inhabitants began to hoist lights on long bamboos, erected before their houses, preparatory to the celebration of the candle-feast.

*September 16.* In the morning I sent Mr. Keys to the mayhoon's with the letter I had prepared yesterday. He read it over twice with great attention, shook his head, and said, notwithstanding all the pains he had taken yesterday, the letter contained precisely my former sentiments, only expressed in fewer words. I had instructed Mr. Keys to explain or enforce particular points as opportunity might offer, but his excellency was so much absorbed in thought and apparently disappointed that he hardly listened to any thing he said, or smiled the whole time. After a short stay, Mr. Keys retired, it being his excellency's breakfast hour.

*September 17.* About two P.M., I received a letter from the mayhoon, in which he acknowledges the receipt of mine. Complains that the articles in it are too long for present consideration, and advises me to go to the looto, receive the commission which his majesty has been graciously pleased to grant me, take the oath of allegiance, and go to Rangoon; adding, that when I had remained

there for some time, I might return to Amara-poorah, when his majesty would take into his royal consideration any further request I might have to make. To this I answered in polite and mild terms, that I lamented it was not in my power to comply with his excellency's request, and therefore had only to beg of him, to obtain his majesty's permission for my proceeding to Rangoon, and to quit his dominions. I understand that the mayhoon has been consulting with the Enga Tekaing all day; and suppose this letter is merely an effort of his own to gain time, or shift the burden from his own mind; which I am sure must be to him a very perplexing one, as by this time I have pretty well convinced him of the impolicy of the Burmhan court; and made him feel for their shameful conduct towards me: at the same time the impracticability of his countryman's temper is such as to make him despair of working a change for the better. Great allowances are to be made for these people, and no one can be more willing or ready than I am to make them; but experience has taught me, that to recede in the least, would only tend to provoke them to further acts of audacity. I believe it may be laid down as a general maxim in our commerce with mankind, that he who attempts to rule or persuade by the milder virtues alone, will experience little else than disappointment and mor-

tification ; but where authority and firmness are added thereto, opposition will be less frequent, because it must be less successful. Let me extend these reflections a little further : love and fear are said to be the strongest passions that influence the human mind : Some politicians, Machiavelli in particular, ascribe the greatest power to the latter ; but in truth, when uncombined they are both transient and uncertain ; when united, permanent : for we love nothing so much as that which we fear to lose ; nor truly fear any thing, but what we at the same time revere and esteem ; or in other words, fear is the best stimulative to love, and love or reverence the best support of fear. What is true of the individual, holds equally in regard to the species or any portion of it. No treaty or compact therefore, can be permanent which has not these principles united for its basis. I confess myself but a novice in the diplomatic art, immersed unexpectedly in the ocean of intrigue, without light or guide, but what I can derive from the glimmerings of my own reflection and judgment, being unhappily debarred communication with those from whose better judgment I could receive instruction and advice ; if, therefore, I am unhappily betrayed into error, I humbly trust my employers will judge me with tenderness and forgive the fault, for the sake of the intention, which has been, at

every risk to advance their particular interests, and promote the general good.

*September 17.* Early in the morning the mayhoon's wife, sent for my interpreter to request a favour on behalf of my boatmen, and informed him that the mayhoon was unwell. Sometime after Mr. Reeves, an English trader here, called on me to inform me of an outrage committed on his person, by a man belonging to the mayhoon: in the morning three peons came to his house and ordered him to go with them immediately to the mayhoon's house to answer to a complaint made against him; and were so imperious in enforcing the summons, as not to permit him to shift himself or wait for his interpreter, who happened to be absent at the time: they hurried him in the most insolent manner to the mayhoon's house, where he found two common writers belonging to the mayhoon's court, sitting in the place of justice, who demanded of him 300 ticals for chokee duties coming up the river. A native Mahomedan in his employ, who served as interpreter, informing him that these men had no authority to send for him: and knowing that the demand was illegal, he, therefore, objected to being tried by them; in consequence they ordered him to be confined in a dungeon in the mayhoon's horse-stable: but the Mahomedan merchant, and Mr. Key's interpreter, happening to be present, offered themselves as his securities,



and he was permitted to return to his house, but Mr. Keys's servant was actually confined. Considering this outrage on Mr. Reeves, as a trial on my feelings, and knowing that the demand itself, and mode of procedure was altogether irregular and indefensible, I therefore, determined to convince them I would not tamely permit such a violation of the privileges of an English subject. In consequence, I directed Mr. Reeves to return immediately to the mayhoon's, and by surrendering himself release his securities ; and sent with him my interpreter, to demand to know by whose authority, and on what account these self-created judges had presumed to act ; and, in case they insisted on detaining Mr. Reeves, or that the mayhoon sanctioned it, to pledge my word for his answering any legal demand against him, that so he might return to his house. When they arrived the second time at the mayhoon's, they found Baba Sheim, and the two Rangoon nhakans occupying the place of his former judges ; to these, according to my instructions, he surrendered himself, and had his securities released. Mr. Rowland then delivered my message, and after the court had made some trifling inquiries respecting the business, they told Mr. Reeves he might go. Mr. Reeves then asked if no satisfaction was to be obtained for the indignity that he had suffered ; and was told, that on application to the mayhoon,

he might probably obtain redress. They evidently wished to stifle the business, finding it likely to turn out so little to their advantage; but I mean to avail myself of the opportunity, to make it the subject of a serious memorial; in the hopes of checking for the future, such abuses of authority.

*September 20.* I sent my interpreters to the mayhoon's to know when it would be agreeable to him to receive Mr. Keys with my letter respecting Mr Reeves; he returned for answer, that he was still unwell, and it being their Sunday also, he requested I would defer sending it till to-morrow morning; at the same time, he requested I would do him the favour to procure a watch for him, which I did, and sent it immediately.

*September 21.* About ten A.M., I sent Mr. Keys to the mew-whoon attended by Mr. Reeves, &c., with a strong remonstrance on the subject of the indignities offered Mr. Reeves by his servants. He received Mr. Keys politely, and listened attentively to the interpretation of my letter. He then assured Mr. Keys, that he was entirely ignorant till then of the transaction, and, that he would, agreeably to my request, severely punish the offenders, and, in future, acquaint me in the first instance, of any complaints that might be made against the English subjects; then directing himself particularly to Mr. Reeves, said, should

any peons in future, have the impertinence to come to summon you in the same manner, you have my permission to chastise them. But, however grave and attentive himself, it was evident his attendants made light of it; talking and laughing in ridicule; which Mr. Keys observing, represented the indecency of such conduct to his excellency. He immediately checked them, saying, although I allow of such freedoms among ourselves, I forbid it before strangers; otherwise they will think contemptibly of us. Thus finished this farce, in which, it must be confessed, he played his part with decency enough; and, although he should not punish the men, as indeed I do not expect he will; yet it may tend to prevent like attempts in future. I find that some of the sentiments contained in my letters invariably remain with them, for in their correspondence and conversation I frequently meet with a sentiment or phrase of my own, urged with an air of sagacity, which ignorance is apt to assume, when it gives itself credit for an original thought. But the Burmhans are not the only people in whose minds you must infuse ideas, before you can hope for reasonable actions; it is the case with most conceited half-witted people. In my own experience, I have met with many a dolt in power, who would oppose the most advantageous proposition directly offered; but introduce the idea into his mind,

and, at a convenient opportunity afterwards, afford him an occasion of sporting it as his own; and he will not only meet your wishes, but be obliged to you for coinciding in opinion with him. Arts of this kind, when intended for the good of society, are pardonable; but, when employed for sinister purposes, deserve our utmost contempt and detestation.

*September 22.* In the morning Mr. Keys attended the enga's whoon, the present generalissimo, by appointment to visit the Burmhan camp, situated on a pleasant plain about three miles E.N.E. from the fort. He found the men hutted in an irregular manner, and scattered over the plain. As he did not see them drawn up, he could not judge of their arms or numbers, but he saw several muskets among them, spears, shields, and swords; and guesses, that they do not exceed 10,000 men, the general said 20,000, but you deal liberally with a Burmhan when you give him credit for one half of what he says. Attached to this camp he also saw a bazar, very well stored with provisions, and various articles of traffic for the supply of the recruits; this, he was told, was to attend them on their expedition. The general pointed out the route they were to take to Jamai, over the eastern range of mountains; and when asked how they transported their artillery over them, he said, the pieces they took on such expeditions were very



light, carrying a half-pound or pound ball at the most. He was very attentive to Mr. Keys, and regretted that he could not take him into the Yongdho as he had his boots on, and no one was permitted to enter any of his majesty's courts, with their feet covered. The yongdho, vulgarly called rondye or rhoné, is a tribunal, and literally means, in the Burmhan language, the place of truth; the one erected in camp is for the trial of military offences, to examine the musters of the levies, and receive petitions from those who wish to commute their personal service by a fine. These fines are one of the sources of Burmhan revenue; and to afford a pretence for raising them, is in general one of the causes for the annual expeditions his majesty sets on foot. Thus does the avarice and mistaken policy of the despot lead him to the most pernicious means of swelling his coffers.

*September 23.* I punished a sepoy with fifty lashes for permitting a prisoner to escape; this being the third offence, I suspected collusion, and therefore thought it necessary to make an example; indeed I have had reason to be dissatisfied with the havildar, naick, and most of the privates; they are a set of unprincipled fellows, and very unfit to be stationed here. A native having thrown stones at one of my guard, I had him apprehended, and sent to the enga's whoon, who has punished him.

*September 24.* Several of the natives having lately thrown stones into my verandah at night, and at my people when at the front door, I sent to the mayhoon, to request he would station two peons at my house to protect my people from insults; he excused himself by saying, his people were strangers, and had no regular authority here; he therefore recommended my applying to the enga's whoon, who sent me two men at night. The mayhoon told my interpreter that he had not been able as yet to speak to his majesty on my business, and indeed knew not how to act, as he was afraid of censure from both sides.

*September 25.* In the morning I sent Mr. Keys to refreshen the mayhoon's memory, and to request to know if he had procured permission for my departure. At first he sent out from an inner room to know what Mr. K. wanted; but on his receiving for answer that he wished to speak with him, he came out and received him with much sullen state; he gradually, however, relaxed into good humour, and in reply to Mr. K.'s queries, said he had not as yet been able to speak to his majesty, that he could not go to him as we did to our king, but must watch an opportunity of his being in a good humour: that he would consult with the whoonghees, and endeavour to bring on my business before the festival, but could not answer for the result; he, therefore, requested I

would have patience for a few days longer, said he had already obtained permission for his own return to Rangoon, and hoped we should all go down happily together. His excellency (as well as most of the royal family) is an alchymist, and had sent to me for some quicksilver; I sent him a little by Mr. Keys, and desired him to say, that an attention to my memorials and commercial regulations, would prove the surest road to the attainment of the philosopher's stone: it was by such means that we transmuted the produce of industry into the precious metals, and that all other attempts must for ever prove illusive. His excellency listening with great good humour, Mr. Keys interspersed his remarks with little hits that were productive of general mirth. His excellency produced a mixture of drugs, which he had been preparing, which was to make people invulnerable; and when perfected, a little held in the hand, would make a person's countenance resplendent with glory, and enable him to fly: and, in spite of all Mr. Keys's arguments, persisted in believing that the transmutation of metals was known in Europe. Mr. Keys told him, that he hoped his excellency would let him into the secret when he had acquired it; which produced another general laugh, and his excellency was so much pleased that he told him, that in case I left the country, if he would stay with them, he would

do every thing in his power to make the Burmhan dominions agreeable to him: detailing many sensual temptations which make the sum of a Burmhan's happiness. Previous to his going to the mew whoon, Mr. Keys had called on the enga's whoon, and had been equally successful in conciliating his good will; he gave him some vulnerary balsam, salves, and lint, and shewed him how to use them; and pleased the old man so much that he made him promise to pass the next Burmhan Sunday at his house, as he should then be at leisure to hear him all day. The Burmhan Sunday, or day dedicated to rest and prayer, falls on the days of new and full moon, and the days of the moon's quartering, so that there are four in each lunar month.

*September 28.* In the morning, according to appointment, Mr. Keys waited on the enga's whoon, who received him with particular attention, seated him on a couch-bed beside him, and had prepared a collation for him. Baha Shein Attowhoon of Hunzawuddy, and some other persons of middling rank were present, and seated on carpets on the floor: the conversation first turned on alchymy, the enga's whoon said, that many Burmhans had ruined themselves by such pursuits without being a sufficient warning to others, as they still remained impressed with a belief, that if they could find a certain root they should succeed; but this



root was not to be found, and many lives had been lost in searching for it. Niebuhr, I think, mentions a similar opinion prevailing in Arabia, where he met with some miserable adepts, who described a plant that grows on the mountains of Yemen, and tinges the teeth of animals feeding on it yellow, as a species of the plant, the desideratum of alchymists: and, I apprehend, the modern rage for alchymy amongst the Burmhans has been introduced by the Mahomedans itinerant or settled amongst them, who have also impressed them, with a belief of the sovereign efficacy of confections, of rubies, the precious metals, and others, the farrago of nostrums which have so long been a fruitful source of profit to the empirics of the western world. I do not by this mean to ascribe to the Arabians the invention of these follies, but the renewal of them; as we have indubitable proofs of their having been practised in the east from the earliest periods of time, and the Burmhans themselves boast of ancient books amongst them which treat of the science of transmutations. As a proof of this assertion, it may be sufficient to quote the *Shanscrit Ashlogue*, translated by Mr. Halhed in his preface to the *Code, or Digest, of Hindoo Laws*:—

“From the insatiable desire of riches I have digged beneath the earth, I have sought by chemistry to transmute the metals of the mountains.

"I have traversed the queen of the oceans, I have toiled incessant for the gratification of monarchs.

"I have renounced the world, to give up my whole heart to the study of incantations; I have passed whole nights on places where the dead are burnt.

"I have not gained one cownry;—Begone, O avarice! thy business is over."

I mean to get these stanzas translated for the benefit of my Burmhan friends. But, to return to the engas's whoon, he said, "For his part, he put no faith in these pursuits;" which afforded Mr. Keys an opportunity of paying a compliment to his good sense, and added to his good humour. The conversation then turned on my affairs: he listened very attentively to all Mr. Keys urged, and with apparent conviction, as he said, that had he been as fully informed before, my business would have long since been settled, and pledged himself not only to mediate between me and the Enga Tekaing, but desired Mr. Keys to tell the mew whoon from him, that he would introduce the subject of my memorials before his majesty, if he would second him. On the whole he was highly pleased, and seemed to enter heartily into my interests, and as a mark of his esteem, presented Mr. Keys with a ruby ring, and engaged him to go out to camp the next day. In the

evening, I sent my interpreter to tell the mew whoon that Mr. Keys would wait on him next day to communicate the enga's whoon's message; he returned for answer, that it was well, he might come. I received a message from a first cousin of the Enga Tekaing's, who is steward to his mother, the second queen, requesting to know if it would be agreeable for me to see him.

*September 29.* In the morning Mr. Keys went to the mew whoon's, was told he was at breakfast; having waited a quarter of an hour without any notice being taken of him, he said he would call again on his return from camp. At the camp the enga's whoon received him in the yongdho, or military tribunal, and entertained him with tea. There was one of the woondocks present, who renewed the subject of alchymy, and strove very hard to convert Mr. Keys. He said he would send him some of the root, and written directions how to use it, to transmute base metal into silver. Mr. Keys said, he had no doubt of his abilities, but fearful of his own want of capacity to benefit by his instructions, would be obliged to him to save him the trouble of the experiment, and send the silver ready made, which occasioned a general laugh, for the least thing excites the mirth of this light people. Among other things the woondock averred, that the Enga Tekaing had made silver by opening the muscular part of a man's thigh,

enclosing base metal in it and then roasting it by a slow fire. On Mr. Keys remarking the improbability of any man's suffering such an experiment, he was told that the man was dead on whom it was tried. This relation which the engas' whoon tacitly confirmed, tends to corroborate the accounts I have received of the diabolical practices, which the avarice, superstition, and infatuation of this people lead them to. While at the yongdho, the mhee whoonghee came in, but took no notice of him. Mr. Keys went with a view of seeing their mode of transacting business; but it appears they were unwilling to permit him to stay, as they repeatedly hinted the necessity for his withdrawing. He, therefore, took his leave, and called at the mew whoon's on his way back, but was denied admittance, under pretence of the mew whoon's sister being very ill, and himself indisposed. I received a visit from a Musulman, partner and persee assistant to Bomhaja, a Bombay persee merchant, who has long resided at Rangoon, but sails his ships under the English flag and pass. They brought a letter from him, specifying the injuries the trade of Rangoon has sustained from the monopoly of Bhodhun, and claiming protection as a British subject, &c. They complained of the heavy exactions of the choke-dars coming up the river, in contradiction to the agreement settled by Captain Symes. They say,



they paid upwards of 400 ticals flowered silver on each boat, exclusive of the delays which have protracted their voyage up to three months.

*September 30.* In the morning the Enga Te-kaing's cousin, who had twice before sent to me for permission, waited on me; he had a large retinue with him, and seemed disposed to behave very consequentially. I received him with four of his particular attendants in an inner apartment with reserved politeness: I soon found that his errand was to bring about an accommodation by a pretended mediation of the second queen, in my favour, which was to be purchased by a handsome present and humiliation on my part. I did not fail to avail myself of the opportunity to convince them, that they were perfectly mistaken in their politics; and that, however well disposed I might be to conciliate the interest of the royal family, and make suitable returns for their favour, they must not expect, that I would beg as a favour what I had demanded as a right; or that I would recede one iota from the resolutions I had communicated to the mew whoon. The gentleman gradually relaxed in his manners, made great professions of friendship, promised to inform me of the result of his endeavours, and took his leave after a stay of an hour and a half. When he went away I gave him a small present.

*October 1.* In the morning, the Enga's cousin

sent for my interpreter, who soon returned, and a Mahomedan servant of his with him, who stated for my acceptance, the alternative of the following propositions. First, whether I would rather choose that the Enga Tekaing should bring forward the business of my memorials before his majesty. In that case the Enga Tekaing would first send for the mew whoon and make him read over the memorials before him, and determine on what ought to remain in them, or be expunged; he would then speak to his majesty, who would order them to be presented by the proper officers, and finally determine upon them.

Secondly. If the second queen interfered in the business. His majesty then would order the mhée whoonghee to present the memorials.

To choose a party was certainly embarrassing; I however for many reasons, (too long to be detailed here,) thought it far preferable to pay a compliment, which the opportunity so well afforded me, to the Enga Tekaing, by choosing him as a patron; and I have reason to believe the original planners of this negotiation would have been much disappointed if I had made any other choice. I however, desired the mew whoon at the same time to say, that I should always consider myself much obliged to the queen for any attention she might be pleased to shew me, and should endeavour to make a return for her kindness.

*October 2.* I have not received the smallest

message from the mew whoon these three days. He is as much inclined to assume importance as the rest; but every advance in future, must come from him, for I have fulfilled all, and more than ought to have been, expected from me.

*October 3.* In the morning the mew-whoon sent the mew sheree and two of his peons to me, with his compliments and inquiring after my health, &c., and to request I would inquire into the complaint of a woman who accompanied them against Mr. Reeves. I accordingly entered on the inquiry, but was obliged to postpone a decision till to-morrow, as Mr. Reeves required time to produce his witnesses. I embarked some more of my baggage, as I propose embarking myself to-morrow or next day; the house I am in being insufferably damp, and the stench of the neighbourhood so abominable that I attribute the continuance of my ill health to their united influence; besides it may have the effect of accelerating the determination of government. For these seven or eight nights past, we have been regularly attended by music and dancers, these festivals being the season of their harvest; and as it is customary for all persons of rank to employ them for the gratification of the mob, I therefore have thought proper to follow the fashion for the sake of popularity.

*October 4.* In the morning I finished the inquiry into the complaint against Mr. Reeves, and found it frivolous and vexatious. I sent my report on

the subject, with an explanatory message at the same time, to the mew whoon, thanking him for his polite attention, but informing him, that he had exceeded my wishes, as it was never my intention to interfere in administering justice, but merely wished to prevent British subjects being insulted by the common peons, or imprisoned for trifling trespasses. He appeared pleased with my decision and communication.

As I saw no probability of any change in the sentiments of government, as the English traders had been repeatedly insulted, and robbed without a possibility of procuring redress, and I had no prospect of selling their goods, I therefore judged it expedient that they should proceed down the river under my protection; and having first consulted with them, and finding their wishes correspond with my opinion, I gave them, (Mr. Reeves and Mr. Lane) written directions to apply to the mew whoon for a permit to leave Amara-poorah, and to hold themselves in readiness to proceed with me down the river the 7th instant. In consequence they waited on the mew whoon at five P. M., and requested the permit according to my directions. He appeared a good deal surprised, and paused for about ten minutes; when he said, I wonder the Resident will not wait a few days for me, when we might all go down comfortably together. However call to-morrow, and I



will send to the looto for an order for you: but says he, have you a written order from the Resident to leave Amara-poorah? Being answered in the affirmative, he turned to his people and said, You see what a ready obedience these Europeans pay to the orders of their superiors; amongst us there would be a thousand delays and excuses. In order to interest him in their favour, I had directed each of them to carry him a present, which he readily received. I had also ordered Mr. Lane, to represent to him the shameful plunder of his property, by the boat people. He however desired to be excused for that day, as he wanted to go to dinner, and directed him to call again next morning. In the course of this day Mr. Burnett, Mr. Reeves, my interpreter, and others of my servants, were insulted by abusive language, and pelted with stones in the fort, and in the suburbs. These insults generally are experienced from the servants, and dependants of the royal family, &c., and are undoubtedly caused by the sentiments they hear their masters express; so that they have served as a kind of gauge of court opinions. The native inhabitants themselves, are of a more friendly disposition. I embarked more of my baggage. Had an excellent observation of an eclipse of Jupiter's first satellite. Long.  $95^{\circ} 37' 45''$  East.

*October 5.* In the morning Mr. Reeves and Mr.

Lane, waited on the mew-whoon, but they were not permitted to approach where he was seated. He asked their business from a distance; and when they had repeated it, he ordered his peons to go to the looto for an order for their departure, and others to bring the mangies complained of by Mr. Lane before him, and would not attend to any thing further. The Peons immediately, instructed, as I suppose, as they spoke within his hearing, demanded twenty ticals each to go to the looto for a chokey order, and added, that the looto officers would require 200 more. For bringing the mangies before the viceroy, they demanded 50 ticals, and refused to proceed until they had received the money. As these demands were altogether unwarrantable, they thought proper to consult me before they complied. It was easy to perceive that all this was a mockery; I therefore desired them to give themselves no further trouble in the business, but proceed with the embarkation of their effects with all expedition, and leave the rest to me. I sent my interpreter to the engai's whoon with some biscuit I had had made for him, and to hear what he had to say on the present state of my affairs. He desired his compliments might be offered me, and said he should never eat a biscuit but he should think of me, but he was sorry it was not in his power to render me any service; that the mew whoon would not exert himself as he had expected. That the other day,

when he had intended to speak to the king, he did not come to court, until he was obliged to go to camp: so that the mew whoon, and mhee whoonghee had spoiled my business. There was a very favourable opportunity to speak the other day, when his majesty asked, what kept the Resident here so long? The mew whoon replied, he wishes to go away. If he wants to go, let him go by all means; what hinders him? The mew-whoon said no more, and your master may now go as soon as he pleases. The mew whoon had told a tale of the same burthen to my interpreter yesterday, and said, he would send for him as to-day, to talk with him; but he did not. I was busily employed throughout the day in embarking my baggage, and preparing my boat: and at five P.M. left my dismal habitation at Amarapoorah, which God forbid I should ever enter again, or have such another Augean task to encounter. On leaving the house I gave away a few rupees amongst the assembled crowd, who were silent, and respectful. If I have left no friends, I have deserved no enemies, having strove to the utmost of my power, to conciliate the good will of even the meanest individual. I slept on board my boat; Mr. Keys and Mr. Burnett slept on shore, as the whole of their baggage was not embarked.

*October 6.* In the evening I sent Mr. Moncourtuse and my private interpreter to the mew whoon, to request of him to procure me a chokey order

from the looto, so that I may not meet with any insult or interruption on my way down the river. He returned his compliments, and said he would endeavour to procure a proper order for me; but entreated of me, as a particular favour, that I would wait at Cheghain or Ava, five or six days for him, as he would leave Amarapoorah at that time, and wished to accompany me down the river, fearful that some accident might happen to me; and requested I would send him my answer to-morrow morning; it was the last favour he had to beg, and hoped I would grant it to him.

*October 7.* As the mew whoon's request of yesterday was friendly and reasonable, I felt no difficulty in determining to comply with it; at the same time, as his conduct therein seemed to promise a desire to conciliate me, I determined to avail myself of this gleam of civility, to try the effect of persuasion once more on this perverse people; for, however mortified I may have been by their conduct, I have ever held myself in duty bound to sacrifice my private feelings to the public good; I, therefore, addressed a conciliatory letter to the mew whoon, entreated a re-consideration of the subject of my mission; acquiescing in his request, and proposing an interview between him and Mr. Keys. This I sent by Mr. Moncourtuse and Mr. Rowland, early in the morning to his house, but he was already gone to the palace,



this being the day when all the tributary princes and nobles of the Burmhan empire pay homage to his majesty. At four P.M. I sent Mr. Rowland alone, Mr. Moncourtuse having thought proper to sham sickness: the mew whoon received him very graciously, made him sit close to him, and listened very attentively to my letter, which pleased him very much. He said, he was perfectly sensible of the truth of what I urged, but that the ministers in general were so much against forming a connexion with the English, and he had so many enemies who were envious of his favour with his majesty, that he was actually afraid to espouse my interests (as he wished,) lest it should be insinuated that he had formed designs inimical to the interests of his sovereign. He added, however, that he should be happy to see Mr. Keys to-morrow, and would send persons to conduct him to his house, so soon as he should return from the palace in the evening; and promised to use his best endeavours to get my chokey order from the looto in the course of to-morrow.

*October 8.* In the morning a Mahomedan, who attended the Enga Tekaing's cousin at my house, came to inform me from the engas whoon, that the prince would see me to-morrow on my own terms. I returned for answer that I would send a person to the engas whoon to inquire into particulars. At three P.M. the mew whoon sent

people down to my boat to conduct Mr. Keys to his house. I had prepared a letter for the occasion with which Mr. Keys immediately went. He was received with tolerable decency, and the mew whoon patiently listened to the contents of my letter, and his comments on it. He excused his apparent want of attention to my interests, by stating his fears of exciting jealousy amongst his countrymen, of his having sinister motives for his connexion with us; he acknowledged the perfidy of his countrymen in the most explicit manner, averring that there was no faith to be put in their words. He added, that he was perfectly aware of the British power, but dared not avow his sentiments, as it might endanger his life. He knew they had powerful fleets and armies, disciplined, and ready for action at a moment's warning; and that his majesty could not raise 5,000 men without great delay and trouble; and when raised, and arms given them, they knew not how to use them, the greatest part, perhaps, not having seen a musket in their lives. What made this language the more extraordinary was, his using it before a great many Burmhan auditors; finally, however, he solemnly promised Mr. Keys that he would communicate my sentiments to his majesty, and give me a final answer in two days. When Mr. Keys informed him of the message I had received from the enga's whoon, he was, or pretended to

be surprised at it, and declared it was impossible it should be true. From the mew whoon, Mr. Keys went to the enga's whoon, whom he found at the prince's yongdho. When he went in, the old gentleman asked him somewhat abruptly, "What occasioned his coming there?" to which he replied, it was in consequence of his sending for him. "Oh ay," said he, "it is very true, the prince wishes to see the Resident before he goes." "But how is the business to be managed," asked Mr. Keys, "you remember Captain Cox's terms?" "Yes, yes," said the whoon, "we will manage that, you must say nothing further about it; Captain Cox may act as he thinks fit, and no notice will be taken of his shoes; he might have done so before had it not been for the officiousness of his former managers." He then said he would send horses for me about three o'clock to-morrow afternoon, as the prince would then be more at leisure to attend to me, as he was to receive the visits of the royal family, chobwas, and officers of government in the morning. "Come, come, general," said Mr. Keys, "as we are going to be friends, had you not better do things handsomely, and send elephants for Captain Cox?" After some demur, he said, "Very well, I will send two elephants." Mr. Keys reminded him, that there were three of us, but he persisted in his resolution to send no more than two, having been influenced

against Mr. Burnett by Moncourtuse, or some other incendiary. He was in high good-humour, and paid Mr. Keys some flattering compliments on his address, and exacted a promise that he should visit him at camp before we left Amarapoorah. Thus ended the negotiations of this sudden change of manners on their part; and, although the concessions were not made in the most gracious manner, I determined not to suffer trifling punctilios on my part to check their advances towards a reconciliation.

*October 9.* In the morning I got ready the several presents I intended for the Enga Tekaing, but received a message about noon, stating that in consequence of the death of an infant child of the Enga Tekaing's last night, it would be necessary to postpone my visit until his family was a little tranquillized. I availed myself of the delay to arrange my visit more agreeably to my mind with the enga's whoon; and pointed out the injustice of his harbouring resentment against a member of my family for the faithful discharge of his duty; for if any blame was imputable, it must rest with me, under whose orders he acted; in consequence he agreed to send three elephants and said every thing should be arranged according to my wishes, and it was settled that I should postpone my visit till Wednesday morning the eleventh; he sent me word also that he



had reproved the mew whoon before the Enga Tekaing for his neglect of me ; telling him, that he, having been the immediate cause of my coming to the country, was particularly obliged to shew me every attention ; but that he had done nothing, and had nearly involved his country in danger, by suffering me to embark with such cause for dissatisfaction.

*October 10.* Thinking it might induce the Burmhan government to treat future adventurers here with more respect and civility, I determined to take Mr. Reeves and Mr. Lane the two English traders now here in my suite to the Enga Tekaing, and to recommend them and all other English merchants who might come to Amarapoorah, to his majesty's protection ; I therefore sent notice of this intention to the enga's whoon, who approved of it, and offered to send horses for them if I should want them. This day I was to have heard from the mew whoon agreeably to his solemn promise to Mr. Keys ; but it is not the first time that I have found him capable of breaking a promise as well as the rest of his countrymen.

*October 11.* About one o'clock the elephants with a nakan sandoghan and sheradoghee, came down to conduct me to the Enga Tekaing's ; but the harnessing the horses, and taking a list of the presents, detained us till half-past two o'clock, when we set off. The presents I had prepared

for the prince, was a phaëton, Europe built, and harness, a one pole tent, a three-barrel hand organ, a fowling-piece in a mahogany case, with tackle complete, a dress of superfine red and blue cloth, a ditto of superfine white ditto, a ditto of scarlet ditto, one piece of gold and silver wrought namsook, one ditto fine muslin, one ditto middling, two ditto of cachedas, two canisters of glazed gun-powder, one decanter of coloured comfits, one multiplying glass, three bottles of otta, and essences in a glass cup, and two gouloubashes of rose-water. About three, we got to the enga's whoon's house, which is close at the gate of the prince's palace. He came to the door and requested me to alight to give time for preparation within; at his earnest request, and promise to return my visit, I had previously consented to do this. When I alighted from my elephant he received me at the head of his stairs, and conducted me to an inner apartment, and would hardly permit me to take off my shoes at the door, which however I persisted in doing, as I wished to convince them that I had no objection to comply with any reasonable prejudice: he had a shabby couch with carpets spread on it for himself and me to sit on, and carpets on the floor for the rest. He appeared to me, a hale man of about sixty; but I am told he is seventy-two years of age: the cast of his features is different from

that of Burmhans, he being of Pegue extraction; his countenance is sedate, but not impressive, rather mean than otherways; in stature he is about five feet seven, and of a spare habit. After the usual compliments, we conversed of the different modes of warfare practised by our respective nations; a subject he shrewdly enough observed, he supposed I would best like to talk of, being as well as himself a soldier.

The Burmhans pique themselves on stratagem, and he inquired whether we used stratagems in war? I mentioned two or three common ones, but added, that the art of war chiefly rested on stratagems in outwitting your enemy, or circumventing his designs; so that generals of abilities were continually inventing new ones, or practising old ones in a new manner: to which he assented, and mentioned some of their stratagems, which chiefly consisted in well-laid ambuscades, &c. He then observed, that the English had a great many sepoys; I told him we found, that the cheapest and best mode of preserving peace was, by convincing our neighbours that we were always prepared for war; but added, by way of softening the observation, that the Burmhans were a nation of warriors. In this he corrected me, saying, "That only particular classes amongst them went to war, some by prescriptive occupation continued such from father to son, but, in

general, only the poor; all those who paid a direct revenue to the king being exempted on certain conditions. But," says he, "our merchants like to go to war; our armies are half composed of men who join war and traffic together, carrying a pack of goods as well as their arms with them." These must be staunch soldiers if pushed, thought I, but said nothing to diminish the good opinion he evidently entertained of the sagacity of their own arrangements. He now requested me to take a dish of tea; and when that was done, we proceeded together to the palace, he walking by my side, and the presents preceding us. At the gate he requested that the majority of my retinue would stop, and that the merchants might take off their shoes; to which I assented. We then walked across the palace-yard, (about 100 yards,) to the steps leading to the hall of audience. About two yards from the steps he put off his sandals, and, at the first step, I and Mr. Keys took off our shoes, and followed him to the audience-hall, a room about fifty feet by fourteen, in the centre nave, with two aisles of the same length and breadth; and without them an open veranda or platform, guarded by a slight balustrade, the roof of the building supported by clumsy, naked, and unornamented pillars of wood, and at the upper, or closed end, which joined the body of the palace, was placed a couch-bedstead, gilt, with velvet-covered mattress, and cushions.



trimmed with gold-lace; the floor covered about it with some mat Chinese carpets, and immediately over it, near the roof, a small canopy of white cotton cloth, with a valance of open work about one foot deep, and suspended by lines from the four corners made fast to as many of the pillars. A clean mat, bordered with red cotton cloth, was placed for us in the right-hand aisle, but as the row of pillars intervening, would have deprived us of a full view of his highness, I pointed out the inconvenience to the whoon, who then had it placed in the centre room immediately fronting the throne, and about thirty feet distant from it. The other gentlemen, servants, &c., in our rear, Baba Shein, who had obtruded himself on the occasion, on our right, and Mr. Moncourtuse on our left; the presents were arranged in front. The enga's whoon, sat between the left-hand row of pillars, and the officers, &c., of his highness's court, dressed in white jammass, in the left and right hand aisles. We were seated about fifteen minutes before his highness appeared. He came from a door of communication with his palace a little to the right, and in the rear of the audience-room. He was dressed in a jamma of gold-flowered muslin, a handkerchief or fillet of the same round his head, a handsome silk lunghee, of the country manufacture, wrought with gold, diamond ear-ornaments, and a Burmhan sword, hilt, and scab-

bard, plated with gold, in his hand. He ascended his throne by steps placed towards the front of it, and seated himself in the Burmhan style. He appeared to me about five feet five inches in height, rather inclined to corpulence; deep brown complexion, as the Burmhans in general are; of an animated cheerful countenance; and, as I should guess, about six or seven and thirty years of age. He fixed his eyes very steadfastly on us, without speaking for a quarter of an hour. He then asked which was the Resident? After some further pause, he desired I might be asked to partake of some refreshments; and tea, sweetmeats, and betel, were immediately served. His highness spoke to us through the whoon, and while we were partaking of the tea, &c., he asked several questions respecting the relative force of the French and English nations; said, he had heard that the French were most powerful by land, and the English by sea; asked whether five English ships could beat ten French? whether France contained more inhabitants than England? all which I faithfully and impartially answered. He then observed, if the English were more powerful by sea, why were their ships afraid to come to Rangoon as formerly? or why did we permit them to take the Burmhan ships? I told him, it was as impossible for us to protect all our merchantmen from privateers and marauders, as it was for the

best regulated government to prevent theft. That as to their taking the Burmhan ships, it was an act of piracy occasioned by the unsettled state of their government; but here my scoundrel of an interpreter, Moncourtuse, endeavoured to screen the French, in whose interest he is, and I had no opportunity of rectifying his assertions at the time, but shall not fail to set the business in a true light the first favourable occasion that occurs. After the tea, &c., were removed, his highness very obligingly desired I might be asked if I had any thing to say. I immediately briefly detailed to him in moderate terms, the whole of my proceedings, and the unjustifiable treatment I had experienced from the mhee whoonghee, and mew whoon; and entreated his patronage and interference in my favour. He replied, "That it was the particular province of the mew whoon to protect and assist me; that his majesty would attend to any thing he said; and that I should consult with him." I told him I had done so repeatedly, and was willing to follow his advice as far as was in my power; but that he had in a manner abandoned me, and, therefore, I must again crave his highness's interference. He said, it was his opinion, that I should accept of his majesty's commission, and go down to Rangoon with the mew whoon, where I could better consult with him; and, when I had given his majesty a few

months' proof of my zeal for his interests, I might return again, and hope for further marks of his favour. Mr. Baba Shein, who seemed to have been sent by the mew whoon, to perplex and retard my business, occasionally speaking and interrupting my replies, I had not an opportunity of fully explaining my sentiments to his highness; and, as I was in the middle of a speech to him, he rose from his throne and retired. His whoon, however, immediately said, he would undertake with the mew whoon to settle my business; that when the mew whoon came to the palace in the evening, he would get his highness to order him to deliver my memorials to his majesty, and that he would see every thing concluded to my satisfaction: we then retired as we came. The yard through which I passed was both damp and dirty, and even the steps to the audience-room were damp and unswept; to have expected us, therefore, to walk barefoot from the gate was unreasonable in the highest degree; at once a proof of unbounded arrogance and folly. When we came to our elephants, the whoon told me to set my mind at ease and depend on him: and said, he would send for Mr. Keys the day after to-morrow to inform him of his progress. Wishing, however, to accelerate his motions, I said, I would send Mr. Keys the next morning; to which he assented, and we parted, returning on our elephants as we



came. At night I entertained the multitude with dancers and tumblers on the strand. I forgot to mention in its proper place, that while we were at the enga's whoon's house, a messenger he had sent to call the mew whoon, returned with an apology to him and me for not attending, as he was busy with his majesty in alchymical pursuits.

*October 12.* Mr. Keys went very early to the enga's whoon's, but was informed that he was at the king's palace; he left Mr. Moncourtuse to learn from him when he would be at leisure to see him. Mr. Moncourtuse returned about ten, and informed him, that the enga's whoon would be glad to see him, between four and five in the evening. According to appointment, Mr. Keys went to the whoon's in the evening; he was but just returned and appeared to be very busy, Mr. Keys had therefore hardly time to explain my sentiments more fully than I had an opportunity of doing yesterday: he informed Mr. Keys that his majesty had left the settling of my business entirely to him, but the mew whoon was ordered down to Rangoon in five or six days, and was very anxious that I should go with him; and as he also was to march with the army in about eight days more, he would strive hard to settle every thing so that I might go with the mew whoon; he promised also to procure me a private audience with the prince before I went. The

prince had sent to desire, I would let the coach-maker's man attend to shew his people how to take the carriage to pieces, and, I accordingly sent my interpreter with him, but they refused to let the interpreter within the palace-yard, and meanly attempted to inveigle the man I had sent, to remain in the prince's service: but his attachment to his native country was proof against all their temptations: indeed the miserable state of dependence and degradation, in which the Mahomedans here live, is enough to deter all but the meanest vagabonds from remaining amongst them.

*October 13.* I moved my boats to a small sandy island opposite the town, that I might keep my people better collected and ready for proceeding.

*October 14.* In the morning early I sent Mr. Rowland, my interpreter, with some presents for the queen mother, the first and second queen and king's grandson; also to the akedho or whoon to the second queen, who had been instrumental in procuring my interview with the Enga Tekaing. He saw the queen mother, as she is called, being the mother of the king's first wife, and sister to the famous Alam Praw the founder of the present dynasty. She received him, and frankly asked him how she could serve me? He told her briefly the situation of my affairs, and that I only waited to have my memorials presented and answered. "Are you sure," said she, "that is all? he wants,

I have been told, he wants the island of Negran." He assured her that was one among the number of falsehoods circulated against me, that the English sought for no power or dominion in this country; that I only required to be treated with the respect due to the Governor-General, whom I represented, and to have power to protect English merchants trading to his majesty's dominions. "Well," replied she, "I will undertake to do his business; I don't care for the Enga Tekaing, or any of them, and can speak my sentiments to the king." She then ordered one of her servants to go immediately to the mhee whoonghee and the mew whoon, and direct them to present my memorials to his majesty as the next morning, and she would go herself to the palace in the morning and support my suit: and pointed out to him, one of the people that she would send to call him, when she wanted him. He could not see the queen's or king's grandson this day, as it was necessary that previous permission should be obtained for his going into the palace.

*October 15.* I heard that the queen-mother was all day in the palace, and also, that one of the detachments from the army of 5,000 men had set off for Jamai, and that it was intended a like force should march to Arrakan, as the inhabitants threatened a rebellion; or to emigrate into the English territories. I received also private intel-

ligence that the mew whoon is decidedly inimical to my interests, as indeed the whole of his conduct towards me since his arrival seems to evince ; but he is a weak and fickle man, open to the insinuations of every scoundrel that will flatter his vanity ; and I doubt not, my good friends Jhansey and Baba Shein have left nothing undone to alarm his fears and preserve their ascendancy over him. The report of this day is, that he is to take me down to Rangoon with him, and that I am to be referred to him for the adjustment of my demands, &c. I, therefore, thought it necessary to guard against this determination, by informing the enga's whoon, that I should consider such reference as a refusal on the part of his majesty's ministers ; and was determined not to be trifled with any longer by such subterfuges ; I, therefore, sent my interpreter to him, to know if it would be convenient to him to see Mr. Keys this evening. He found him unwell with a headach ; he desired to be excused that day, and said, he would send people to call Mr. Keys if he was better in the morning.

*October 16.* In the morning the queen-mother sent for my interpreter. When he waited on her, she informed him, that she had staid with the king till eleven o'clock last night, but had not been able to effect any thing in my favour ; that the enemies of the English had poisoned his mind with reports to our prejudice, and induced him



to believe we wanted to take his country from him; that the mhee whoonghee, the mew whoon, and the Malabar shabunder, were, in particular, the persons who opposed me; and had obtained such an ascendancy, that it was in vain to contend further. She, therefore, advised me, to give myself no further trouble; for if she could not succeed with her son in my favour, no one could. The candour of this good old lady pleased me extremely; for she is the first person who has spoken truth to me since I have been in the Burmhan dominions. In the evening, the enga's whoon sent peons for Mr. Keys, and the queen-mother sent a messenger with a letter, requesting that I would send her a piece of cloth, and some otta, for her own use. As I thought this letter might be a forgery, I determined to send my interpreter to her. About six P.M. Mr. Keys returned from the enga's whoon, and informed me, that he had delivered my message in full to him; that he had listened to it rather impatiently, seemingly wishing him away; and, in reply, avowed his inability to perform his promise, saying, he was but as one to ten. So there is an end to the farce of the enga's whoon. The queen-mother acknowledged having sent for the cloth, but that it was Madras long-cloth she wanted; she, however, accepted the piece of fine muslin I had sent, and returned me many thanks, saying, she would make a dress

of it for going to the pagoda, and always pray for me. She added, that she was quite ashamed to receive so many things from me and not do any thing in return ; but that her son had desired her not to take any memorials or letters from me ; she, therefore, could do no more in that business.

*October 17.* Early in the morning, the queen-mother's whoon waited on me. It seems the good old lady's conscience would not suffer her to keep my presents without making some return ; and, having consulted this gentleman, her counsellor and fac-totum, it had at length been agreed between them, that he should bring me sixty ticals this morning, to bear my expenses down the river ; and he had accordingly now come to give me the money. As I found myself rather disposed to commend her good intention than to ridicule the simplicity of it, I made suitable acknowledgments for her remembrance of me, but requested that the money might be exchanged for a ring ; and, in order to maintain the favourable opinion which the old lady seemed to entertain of me, as under my circumstances it was uncertain how soon I might want a friend of her power, and also that I might retort through her some of the mischiefs my enemies had heaped on me, I therefore sent her a handsome glass vase ; and gave her whoon a diamond ring ; desiring him to tell his mistress, from me, that I considered myself

highly obliged by her candour and attention; and, in return, thought it my duty to desire her to put her son on his guard against those bad men who had induced him to entertain suspicions of the English; as they were disaffected to his government, and secret emissaries of the French, who had designs against this country, and would conquer it to a certainty, if not prevented by the English; his majesty's conduct, therefore, in making them enemies also, was highly imprudent. I desired also, that she might make known how dishonourably I had been treated; that I had been obliged to hire common merchant-boats, to convey myself and people to Rangoon; that the mew whoon had not taken the least notice of me, and that the boats' crews ran away, and behaved insolently with impunity; I, therefore, requested she would so far favour me as to procure some officer who might be sent with me to Rangoon, to keep my boatmen in order; all which he promised faithfully to report, as he saw in part, the bad behaviour of my boat people. About twelve at noon, the mew whoon set off in his phæun, in great state, attended by four war-boats, and others of his suite. About one o'clock the queen-mother's whoon returned, and brought me a sapphire ring, about fifty ticals value, and a smaller one for my interpreter. He said, that his mistress would have sent me a ruby if she

could have got one in time, and would have procured a phaun for me if I would wait two days more; that, as to an officer to attend me, it was not in her power to assist me, as it must be done by order of the looto; and there was not time to procure one at present. At this time I learnt from her whoon, that he had been a suhadho, or head poonghee of a kheoun, and had quitted his religious habit and exercise, at the particular instance of the queen-mother, to superintend her household, &c. He is a short comely man, of mild manners, and pleasant countenance. At two P.M. we left our station opposite Amarapoorah; five boats of my party, and one boat with the English merchants, Mr. Reeves and Mr. Lane; also a small boat with a Mahomedan trader. At four P.M. we made fast at Cheghain. In the evening I walked through a part of the town to the south point of the ridge of hills which commence here, and extend along the western bank of the river, almost as far as Keoun Meoun with very little interruption. The summits of all the peaks to the southward, are crowned with Burmhan pagodas, and other religious buildings; most of them have flights of steps leading to them; the whole of bad burnt bricks plastered over. Upon near inspection they are rather paltry, and from the badness of the materials promising no long duration. We climbed up to one of them, and from it commanded



a very extensive view of the adjoining country, which appeared pleasant and fertile, but mostly woody, and uncultivated: the banks of the river were higher than the plains adjoining, as is usual in countries subject to inundation. These latter were, in many parts, still under water, although the river does not appear to me more than five or six feet above its ordinary level in the dry months. Amarapoorah from hence makes but a mean appearance, its golden spires might be mistaken for chimney-tops, or glass-blowers' furnaces, and a nearer approach will not tend to raise in the minds of its beholders any ideas of magnificence, comfort, or industry; but Amarapoorah demands a particular description, and shall have one at a more convenient opportunity, when I can collect my materials. Ava seems buried in its ruins; fifteen years ago the metropolis of the empire, it is now totally depopulated, and overgrown with weeds or mouldering in heaps of rubbish. Two or three pagodas alone point out to the inquirer's eye its site, which is surrounded by a small creek, and appears to me, a better situation for a city than that now occupied by Amarapoorah. Chegain seems also to be going fast to decay; excepting the religious buildings, you see none but mean straggling houses, and but a very scanty population. It is principally supported by the cotton trade to China, of which it is one of the

greatest shipping ports; also by making Chunam, the south end of the ridge being very good limestone; the cheapness of this material seems to be one cause of the religious rage for building pagodas here, of which you see new ones rising in every direction. I know of no particular sanctity annexed to the place, except that on a rocky point projecting from the opposite shore, now covered with religious buildings; they say, that Godamah descended from heaven, when he transmigrated into the body of a cock, and picked golden grains from the sands.

*October 18.* At day-light I made a small excursion towards the hills, to observe the soil, &c.: the exterior masses of the southern clumps, as far as I saw, was a white limestone marble, but on some of the spars I found the stones variegated, black, blue, green, and red, mixed with siliceous and quartzose pebbles and fragments, also those calcareous stalactites in India called couker. The general appearance of the soil &c., indicates the presence of minerals; but I met with nothing but iron ore; copper, silver, lead, iron and precious stones have been obtained from various parts of the ridge; and I have particular accounts of various mines that have been opened and worked, in former reigns, with great success. I saw the entrance of two caves of considerable size, excavated by art; but was prevented by the darkness,

from exploring them; and my situation with the government not admitting more than a cursory view, I had not come prepared, as I otherwise should have done; both of them appeared to me as large as the famous Cave of Elephanta, which I have also been in; but I had no opportunity of examining how much of these was excavated from the body of the solid rock, their fronts being formed of masonry. These hills are rugged, overrun with the hardy brier, or wild Indian plum, and varieties of the euphorbium; I also found here an opuntia, exactly the same as the American one sent to India from his majesty's garden at Kew, of which I brought away specimens. At this time also, all the hollows and gentle slopes were covered with short sweet grass; we started two hares, and saw the track of deer. About eight A.M., we returned, having had a very pleasant walk. Inland, about six miles from where we lay, is a famous ancient pagoda, of which I have the Burmhan history, and meant to visit it, but was prevented by the distance; thinking it imprudent in my present circumstances, to venture so far while in the vicinity of the capital. It differs in form from the general style of building amongst them, being finished with a dome; and although it stands in a hollow, I have seen it at twelve or fifteen miles' distance; but those who have been at it say, it is twice the circumfe-

rence of Daghoon pagoda, and like it, solid. My motive for remaining here was to obtain some information which I expected from Amarapoorah, and to get stock, and complete my boats' crews; for notwithstanding all my advances, they were still incomplete. These fellows have a great inclination to be insolent whenever they dare: they have beaten several of my servants, and when spoke to, threaten to leave the boats. It will require, therefore, all my patience and management, to get safe and smoothly down the river, for I am entirely at their mercy. In the evening, the mewjerry of Rangoon, my former attendant, made his appearance. My people learnt from him, that he was waiting Baba Shein and a chekoy, who are still at Amarapoorah.

*October 19.* About seven A. M. we passed Old Ava. The ruins of the walls are within fifty yards of the river, and the bank, bold up to it, seems to have been more extensive than the fort of the present capital, which is about 12 or 1,300 feet square, and better situated for defence or commerce. The rocks we passed coming up the river, are now covered. At eleven A. M. we passed Keauptolong chokey, without trouble or notice. About five P. M., crossed over to the western shore, intending to go through the Nabaiek channel. At sun-set, made fast to the western bank. Near the river, the land is under culture, but in a slovenly



style. On the eastern side of the river from Amarapoorah, to within about six miles to the N. W. of Keouptolong, the plain extends to a considerable breadth from the river, to the foot of the mountains, the ridge of which declines in height as it advances to the southward, but five or six miles to the northward of Keouptolong arid downs extend to the river. From Keouptolong these recede back to the mountains, leaving us to the northward, a fine plain susceptible of high cultivation; and for the most part cultivated from Chegain to Nabaiek. Also on the west-side the country is level near the river, and in part cultivated; but backed by high ground covered with wood or jungle. The river on the right of Ava, and to the southward of it, is about one mile and a half broad. Current about three miles or a little more. Near Keouptolong it is about three quarters of a mile broad; towards Nabaiek it spreads very much with islands mid-channel. We passed several merchants' boats bound up under sail.

*October 20.* Proceeded at day-light; at half-past seven A. M., made fast to the western bank, near the entrance of the Nabaiek channel. Finding there was not water enough for us to go through, I sent off my interpreter in a small boat, to wait on the padre Don Louis, from whom I expected some books and intelligence. At half-past ten, crossed over to Namaguey, a village on the east-

ern bank, to wait for my interpreter. At half-past three P. M., he returned. From him I learn, that Nabaick is but a wretched hamlet of about thirty or forty houses, inhabited by Burmhan Christians. There are, however, two or three churches and some other hamlets dependent on it, situated in the jungles to the westward. The padre's house is gilt like the keouns of the Burmhan poonghees; and, like them, he depends for his daily food on the donations of his flock; never cooking in his own house. I am told also, that he is obliged to wink hard at many of their Pagan superstitions. He had nothing to offer my man but a cup of tea, and disappointed me of my expectations from him. At four P. M. we dropped down through the eastern channel, which is narrowed by the islands, to a breadth of 3 or 400 yards, until sunset: both banks are under culture. At sun-set, made fast to the eastern bank, we had passed several merchant-boats bound upwards, and Mr. Baba Shein passed us downwards, without taking the smallest notice. A little below Namaiguey, the river spreads nearly three miles to the westward; but shoal on that side, with sand-banks, and islands mid-channel.

*October 21.* Proceeded at day-light, and at half-past seven A. M., entered the main river. Several war-boats passed us downwards during the day, and merchant-boats bound upwards. At sun-set

made fast to a sand-bank projecting from the western shore. At night, set a watch with double sentinels, and loaded arms; as the conduct of the Burmhan government towards me warrants a suspicion of foul play being intended me on my passage down. From the conflux of the Keoundowien with the Era-wuddy, the western bank is a well-cultivated plain, backed by a range of mountains, seven or eight miles inland. The eastern bank for about ten or twelve miles, is also tolerably well inhabited; but the flat not more than two or three miles broad, backed by uncultivated woody downs, which to the southward of that limit form the margin of the river, terminating in precipitate bluffs, with little variation, all the way to Pagaam.

*October 22.* We proceeded at half-past five A.M., and at eight passed the new city of Gucayne, a number of merchant-boats were lying there. At ten A.M. we stopped at the ancient city of Pegaam, or Pokghong, and went on shore to view the ruins of this ancient city. I climbed to the top of an old pagoda, by several flights of narrow ruinous stairs. The two lower stories, have a flight in each angle, arched over and steep. The first, about a yard broad, and in height from the steps to the top of the arch about five feet, ending in a small turret placed over the angle, and from the door of which only they receive light. The

height of the whole of the first flight and story is about forty feet. The height of the second, nearly the same ; but the arch lower, and passages narrower ; the rest of the steps are on the outside, leading to the top of three other stories, from whence the dome rises. The first two stories are surrounded by a Gothic arched gallery, along which are arranged various images of their deities. The building itself is quadrangular, each face fronting the four cardinal points of the compass ; with a projecting portico, and corresponding niches within, wherein is placed on a throne, or altar, a colossal gilt figure of Godoma. The principal figure seems uniformly to be placed to the east, where there is the greatest projection for the shelter of those who come to pay their devotions.

From the top of this pagoda, I commanded a full view of the remains of the city, and adjacent country, which, as far as the eye can reach on the eastern side of the river, is rugged downs ; steril, uncultivated, and covered with scrubby bushes, &c. To the south-east about three miles inland, a rugged ridge of hills rise abruptly from the common level of the country, and extend about five or six miles north and south. The ruins of the pagodas extend about four or five miles along the banks of the river, and inland, about one mile and a half.

I counted to the south of me fifty ; and to the



any affinity with Caffres, but say that when Godoma assumed the religious habit, he cut off his hair with his sword, leaving it rugged or furrowed, and the features of a genuine Burmhan have a good deal of the Caffre cast. These principal niches form a kind of *sanctum sanctorum*, and are railed off, so as to prevent the too-near approach of the multitude. Over each figure is suspended a chattré of dominion. In the vestibule of the western front, is a large stone with the prints of the feet of Godoma. These are only representations of those sacred impressions which he has left in various parts of the earth, particularly in the Burmhan dominions. The following are the rough dimensions which I took of the building, to form a ground-plan from. The outer wall of the portico fourteen feet thick, breadth of the passage ten feet. Portico or vestibule, length forty feet, breadth twenty-one, height thirty-five, passage of ditto to first cloister or gallery, fourteen feet length, breadth ten feet. First gallery, greatest length 143 feet, breadth eighty-six, passage thence to the inner gallery fourteen feet, breadth ten feet; inner gallery, greatest length 101 feet ten inches, breadth eight feet six inches. Niche for the idol, breadth twenty feet, depth seventeen feet, height thirty-five or forty feet. The partition-wall between the two galleries, and the outer wall also, had several small arches for the passage

of air and light at different heights. To get to the second story, it was necessary to creep along a cornice, about fourteen feet above the pavement, and only sixteen inches broad, a risk which neither our devotion or curiosity could tempt us to encounter. I have only to add, that the avenues to the inner cloister, had great folding grated gates; but the only precautions used, are seemingly intended to keep out cattle. We were permitted to traverse and examine every thing without molestation; a few persons, who, I suppose, were slaves to the pagoda, attending us out of curiosity. However, to reconcile them to our measuring, &c., I told them we had nothing of the kind in our country; and if I was not particular in writing down the length, breadth, &c., the people there would not believe that there was such a building in the world. In the two galleries of the lower story, I think there are at least 2,000 images in the niches, of stone and wood gilt, the carving tolerable; and in little compartments on the outside of the surbase, were figures in relief, of green varnished pottery, and also on the frieze of the cornice.

The prince of Pegaam has a house here; or, as it is called in the language of the country, a palace, surrounded by a mat enclosure: but we were not permitted to examine it. Near the river, are a number of betel gardens, covered over as in Hindostan, and apparently diligently

kept. They are watered by pacotes, as used on the Coromandel coast ; but the lever is wrought by the men at the bucket, after the Chinese fashion. There are but few inhabitants here, and those apparently in indigent circumstances ; the trade of this place having been transferred with its population, to Gucaym, adjoining it to the northward, where the principal manufacture of lacquered ware is carried on. Near it also is a famous pagoda, built by one of the ancient kings of Pegaam, and lately repaired and gilt, by private donations of the devout. The following story is told concerning it :— During the above-mentioned king's reign, a king of Chittong made war against the Jumes, a tribe of the Shams, but finding his own force inadequate to conquer them, he solicited the alliance and aid of the king of Pagaam, and with the reinforcement he received from him, effected the conquest of them. In return for the assistance the king of Pegaam had afforded him, he tendered his daughter in marriage, which was accepted by the king of Pagaam ; and his principal general was ordered to escort the princess to Pagaam. On the road the general, unmindful of his trust, debauched the princess ; this, the king of Pagaam was privately informed of ; he punished the perfidy of the general by putting him to death, but kept his crime a secret as he en-

tertained a suspicion that the king of Chittong, was privy to it, with a view to dishonour and dethrone him, through the aid of the general and princess; he therefore determined to wreak his vengeance on him also, and invited him to be present at the festival of the finishing his pagoda. The king of Chittong apprehending no treachery from so great a king, came attended by the principal officers of his court, and a slight retinue; and when the chattré was fixed on the summit of the pagoda, the king of Pegaam seized him by the hair of the head, and dedicated him and all his followers as slaves to the pagoda, where their posterity remain to this day. The heirs of the king, still enjoy many of the prerogatives of royalty; when he goes abroad he has a gilt chattré carried over him, and his sandals are ornamented with gold embroidery and precious stones; he has power of life or death also over his own people; who form, as I am informed, the majority of the inhabitants of Gucaym. On the western side of the river opposite Gucaym a rugged range of hills commence, extending to the southward; the country to the westward of them, is inhabited by the people called Caens, independent of the Burmhan government; mid channel, are a number of large fertile islands, from whence the inhabitants are principally supplied with pulse, grain and Indigo weed. In the evening I was